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# Everett McKinley Dirksen

LATE A SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

❧

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
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# Memorial Services

Held in the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States, together with tributes
presented in eulogy of

# Everett McKinley Dirksen

*Late a Senator from Illinois*

Ninety-first Congress
First Session

◆

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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# Biography

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was born in Pekin, Tazewell County, Ill., January 4, 1896; attended grade and high schools and the University of Minnesota College of Law at Minneapolis; during the First World War served overseas as a private and later as a second lieutenant of Field Artillery from January 5, 1918, to October 2, 1919; general manager of a dredging company 1922–1925; commissioner of finance of Pekin, Ill., 1927–1931; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1936 and commenced practice in Pekin, Ill.; elected as a Republican to the Seventy-third and to the seven succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1933–January 3, 1949); was not a candidate for renomination in 1948; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1950, 1956, 1962, and again in 1968, and served from January 3, 1951, until his death in Washington, D.C., September 7, 1969; interment in Glendale Memorial Gardens, Pekin, Ill.

# PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
UNITED STATES SENATE

# Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *September 8, 1969.*

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who are from everlasting to everlasting, come upon us this day with a vivid and intimate awareness of Thy presence, that we may know that neither life nor death, nor things present nor things to come shall ever separate us from Thy love, and that in Thee the temporal and the eternal have no distinction. Surround us with Thy love, impart to us Thy healing grace, and bring to us the ministry of hallowed memory and sacred recollection.

We thank Thee for Thy servant and our comrade, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, who has fought a good fight, kept the faith, finished his course, and is at rest with Thee. For the nobility of his manhood, the magnanimity of his spirit, the hospitality of his mind, and the inclusiveness of his friendship we give Thee thanks. For his massive mind, his matchless speech, his powers of persuasion, and his parliamentary skills we give thanks to Thee. For his elevated patriotism and his manly piety, for his grace and dignity in public service we give Thee thanks. For his prodigious energy spent in self-sacrificing public service, for his fortitude in suffering, and his witness to values which are everlasting we give Thee thanks. May the integrity of his manhood, the radiance of his character, his gentle but subtle humor, and his sense of the divine in all things human remain as an abiding legacy for all generations. May his golden voice now silenced on this side be lifted with the everlasting choirs invisible on the other side of the great divide. May the land he loved, the Nation he served, and the principles to which he was dedicated make this land more and more a foretaste of the kingdom whose builder and maker is God.

In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce the death of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN at 4:52 p.m. on September 7. A great chair across the aisle stands empty.

At an appropriate time, the Senate will eulogize the late Senator. We shall set aside a day to dwell at length on the life and service of this decent man, this colleague of so many years.

In the first shock of his passing, the words do not come. It is too soon. The void has opened too suddenly. The emptiness is too complete. It is possible, now, only to sense the loss, to sense it in the profound sorrow which his death brings to us.

This is a time, then, not to eulogize, but to mourn. Nor is it a time to mourn for EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, who has no need of it. Rather, it is a time to mourn for the Nation. It has suffered the grievous loss of a citizen-patriot and a distinguished political leader.

It is a time, too, to mourn for the State of Illinois, whose cities, towns, and prairies he loved so deeply, and whose praises he sang so well. His State is bereft of a dedicated son, a skilled legislator, and a pure personification in the Congress of the United States.

It is a time, too, to mourn for the Senate, the Senate in which he delighted completely and to which he gave his complete affection. The Senate has lost a Senate man. No longer will it draw new strength from the well springs of his wisdom. Yet, his death does not diminish the Senate. His uniqueness is the stuff of legends, and he leaves here a permanent imprint and an enduring echo.

It is a time, finally, to mourn for those who were tied to Senator DIRKSEN in personal association, for his colleagues in the Senate and the Government of the United States, for his family and friends. Time after time, and time again, those of us who knew him turned to him. We turned to him to share a pleasure or a concern. We turned to him for the sureness of his warmth, his graciousness, and his devotion, and we never failed to find it. We turned to him for that elusive flicker of human understanding, that unique spark which was EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. It is gone now. So it is a time for mourning, a time for mourning what we have lost.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it will not be possible ever to replace, except in fond memories, the position held by the great leader of the minority party, a man whose memory will enlighten the recollection of all here present and of so many throughout the country.

Each day, as he came to the opening of the Senate, he had a bright and friendly comment. He added a spirit of accommodation and yet a spirit of full recognition of his responsibility as a Senator, as a citizen, and as the leader of his party.

As the distinguished majority leader has said, today is not the day for eulogy, but for mourning. But today is the beginning of a period in which we may have the opportunity to pay inadequate—altogether too inadequate—tribute to a great man, to a great leader, to a warm and compassionate man with a redeeming sense of humor who had perhaps one of the greatest of all qualities—the ability to view himself in due proportion as one of the creatures of the Lord Most High, and yet to recognize in that picture of himself the aspects of humor, the aspects of the presentation of position, and the aspects of the reaction of those with whom he dealt so well, so long, and so successfully.

Our grief is great for his family, one of whom is a distinguished colleague of ours. It is great for the Nation, for the State of Illinois, and for all those who knew him and loved him and worked with him. At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember him.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for myself and Mr. Scott, I send to the desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution (S. Res. 253) will be read.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

### SENATE RESOLUTION 253

*Resolved,* That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, late a Senator from the State of Illinois.

*Resolved,* That the President of the Senate appoint a committee, of which he shall be a member, to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

*Resolved,* That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution is considered and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, for myself and Mr. Mansfield, I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution (S. Res. 254) will be read.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

### SENATE RESOLUTION 254

*Resolved,* That the Secretary invite the Members of the House of Representatives to attend memorial services for the Honorable EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon, and be it further

*Resolved,* That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial services in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution is considered and unanimously agreed to.

The clerk will read the last resolving clause of the resolution (S. Res. 253) submitted by the Senator from Montana and agreed to by the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

*Resolved,* That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 11 o'clock and 12 minutes a.m.), the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 11 a.m.

TUESDAY, *September 9, 1969.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate two resolutions of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

### HOUSE RESOLUTION 531

*Resolved,* That the House of Representatives accepts the invitation of the Senate to attend memorial services for the Honorable EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

## HOUSE RESOLUTION 532

*Resolved,* That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, a Senator of the United States from the State of Illinois.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

*Resolved,* That a committee of thirty-two Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

*Resolved,* That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, our hearts are a little empty today as we pay tribute to one of the greatest Senators and truly great Americans who ever graced this Chamber with his presence. EVERETT DIRKSEN, as much as anything, was a Senator's Senator and as such was respected by everyone who met him. Senator DIRKSEN's mark on history will be recorded not so much for his stand as an unflinching Republican leader, but as a man who was able to see needs and fulfill them, see trends and interpret them, see humor in serious problems and lighten our load with his quick smile and ready wit. As a politician, he was without peer. But I think what endeared him to most of us was his humanity, his gentleness, and his everlasting spirit. The Senate will not be the same without him because no one can fill his shoes. To many of us, EVERETT DIRKSEN symbolized what is great about the U.S. Senate. He had the affection of his fellow Senators and the admiration of the American people. The last page has been turned in one of the unique chapters of American political history. I fear we will not see his equal for a long time to come.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, our flags are at half staff for a great American and a great public servant. I dare say the Senate of the United States has lost one of its all-time favorites with the death of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. Commentators are recalling that Senator DIRKSEN, who often allowed as how he had aspired to a career as an actor, provided a dash of theatrics to the national capital scene. Indeed, he did, and he was probably more beloved for doing so.

To those of us who worked with EV DIRKSEN, however, there is much more to remember than his flamboyant eloquence. It masked but could not hide a serious dedication to this country and its people.

It was the finishing touch to a thorough and wily knowledge of parliamentary maneuver—a skill in which Ev Dirksen was unmatched.

Senator Dirksen was not without honors, of course. As the leader of his party in the Senate, he proved an able, articulate spokesman and a capable tactician. We who live on the other side of the political fence, however, remember well that Ev Dirksen's philosophy could not abide blind opposition for opposition's sake. We can recall that his word was his bond and that his graciousness was as great in defeat as it was in victory. And we know well that one never dared count him out until all the votes were in, for he was tenacious, adaptable, convincing, and persuasive.

Ev Dirksen's passing is hard to believe and harder to accept. It will be difficult to replace him and, no doubt, impossible to do so in kind. This great Capitol itself has taken on a new historical presence and will echo the distinctive voice of the Senator from Illinois for thousands upon thousands of Americans from this day on.

Ev Dirksen's passing, then, is like a death in the family, for the Senate and for the entire country. With my colleagues, I mourn his loss, and particularly grieve for his widow and his daughter, the wife of our distinguished colleague from Tennessee (Mr. Baker).

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the whole world was shocked into sadness Sunday by the unexpected death of U.S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

For the whole world had a deep affection for this great orator—this "old-fashioned American" as he liked to call himself—distinguished statesman as we knew him—and the stanch friend it was a privilege to possess through these 19 years of his and my Senate service.

With the Dirksen eloquence absent from this Chamber, the Senate cannot be the same. And we shall miss his priceless wit and wisdom.

His was a voice to charm, speaking out of a heart of courage and compassion. His was a kindness to encourage the ambitious—to understand and assist the weak—and not desert them.

His was a senatorial wisdom geared to the security of his country that he had served in uniform. His was a gift to contribute commonsense to a worried land—a land that loved him personally regardless of party.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN believed—as he said—in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

He understood the challenges of our changing times—and he met them. He could talk down the high and haughty, and he could speak up for the underdog.

Great legislation of our time, more often than not, owed its enactment to the patriotic commitment of this man.

Each of us has a precious memory of his helpfulness. An aisle might divide us on issues, but no aisle divided the innate decency of this man—always the gentleman—ever the friend.

Many voices in many tongues will speak the eulogy of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, and history will write the epitaph for this powerful figure of his times.

So—humbly—we shall speak of him as an old-fashioned American, with a love of family that inspired decency, a love of country that inspired dedication, grateful for freedom's blessings—concerned that these blessings might be preserved and shared by all—an able advocate of the American dream and the American destiny.

Out of our hearts we speak our sympathy to his dear ones—those who had the special fortune intimately to love him—and intensely to be loved by this good man.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, it is always difficult to bear the death of a close friend, but it is especially hard when the deceased friend was a symbol of vitality, spirit and life.

It is for this reason, therefore, that we suffer such deep and sincere distress at the passing of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, for this beloved colleague of ours had that rare, divine gift of remaining intensely alive in his activities and of touching everything he did with the electrifying magic of his own philosophy and personality.

In addition, he understood better than any other man the art of objective compromise.

Consequently, he got things done, and much of the major legislation of his era, for which others frequently received the credit, would never have come into being without the careful guidance and exceptional craftsmanship of this great leader.

Furthermore, he kept things in perspective and acted accordingly.

When assaults on old-fashioned patriotism were abroad in the land, the mellifluous and inspiring voice of the senior Senator from Illinois could be heard reminding our Nation of the "Gallant Men" whose past heroism he recommended as a course for our future.

When the business of the Senate seemed about to become submerged in a quagmire of procedural formalities, an ingenious quip or an aptly recited quotation from our colleague would return the proceedings to their appropriate course.

When the complex and conflicting considerations surrounding the major issues of our time piled one upon another to form seemingly insoluble dilemmas for those charged with the responsibility of voting on them, Ev DIRKSEN made his decisions honestly and courageously according to the dictates of his unshakeable integrity and his deep-rooted love of country, and in so doing he set an example of statesmanship which was both an inspiration and a guide.

It is said that Ev DIRKSEN thought he might have liked to be an actor.

My former profession would have welcomed him proudly, for he would have done us a great honor and he would have been a great performer.

I say this not primarily because of his outstanding oratorical ability and his remarkable innate showmanship, but because he had that magnificent insight into life which permitted him to recognize that there are two thespians' masks, one for tragedy and one for comedy, and that even the gravest problems which confront us must be viewed not only through the mask of tragedy but also through the other mask, which symbolizes the essential, God-given joy of life and man's need to preserve it.

Yes, Ev DIRKSEN loved life and its happiness, and his enthusiasm was catching.

Therefore, he would have been a star in any field of endeavor.

If we are, as Ev DIRKSEN would have reminded us with one of his frequent Shakespearean quotations, "merely players" on the stage of this world, then our colleague will always be remembered as one who accepted one of the most difficult parts ever presented to any Government leader in our history and whose performance in this vital and sensitive role will continue to make this a better land in which to live for untold generations to come.

More than all this, though, I shall miss his warm friendship, his wise counsel, and his deep dedication to his country, all of which, combined in my memory, will make me remember him as one of greatest Americans it has been my privilege to know.

My most heartfelt sympathies are extended to Mrs. Dirksen and our late colleague's entire family.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senate will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly, at 11:37 the Senate recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.

Thereupon, the Senate, preceded by its Secretary (Francis R. Valeo), its Sergeant at Arms (Robert G. Dunphy), and the Vice President, proceeded to the rotunda of the Capitol to attend the memorial services for the late Senator Dirksen of Illinois.

# IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL

## Memorial Services for the Late Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen

The Chaplain of the Senate, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following Scripture readings and prayer:

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.

Bless the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me. Bless His Holy Name.

The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no evil touch them. They are at peace.

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die.

Let us pray:

Almighty God, Father of mercies and giver of all comfort, deal graciously, we pray Thee, with those who mourn this day, that casting every care on Thee, they may know the consolation of Thy love, the healing of Thy grace, and the companionship of Thy presence; through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Almighty and everlasting God, before whom stand the living and the dead, we praise and bless Thy holy name for the good examples of those Thy servants, who having finished their course on earth, now rest from their labors. We thank Thee this day for thy servant, Everett McKinley Dirksen, and for the sacred memories and hallowed recollections which cluster about this great life—his manly piety, his refined patriotism, his unending devotion and tireless efforts in behalf of our Nation and the world. We thank Thee for his faith in the invincibility of goodness, and the final triumph of justice. Help us to praise highly and to guard carefully the gifts which such loyalty and devotion have passed on to us. And grant that we may be true as he was true, that we may be loyal as he was loyal, and that we may serve our country, our world, and our God all the days of our lives, and leave the world better for having lived in it. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, placed a floral tribute at the catafalque, and then made the following address:

The PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dirksen, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the Congress, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Your Excellencies, and friends of Everett Dirksen throughout the Nation:

When Daniel Webster died more than a century ago, a man who differed strongly with him on many public issues rose in Congress to say this in eulogy:

> Our great men are the common property of the country.

Everett Dirksen of Illinois was and is the common property of all the 50 States.

Senator Dirksen belonged to all of us because he always put his country first. He was an outspoken partisan. He was an individualist of the first rank. But he put his Nation before himself and before his party.

He came to the Nation's Capital in 1932, and his public service spanned an era of enormous change in the life of our country. He played a vital part in that change. That is why it is so difficult to think of the Washington scene, of this Capital, without him.

Only his fellow legislators, the Senators and Representatives who have gathered here today and who mourn his loss across the Nation, know the full extent of his contribution to the process of governing this country. They know the time and concern he put into their bills, their causes, their problems.

They know another side of EVERETT DIRKSEN: The side in the committees behind the scenes where so much of the hard work and the hard bargaining is done, where there is so little that makes headlines and so much that makes legislation.

Through four Presidencies, through the adult life of most Americans living today, EVERETT DIRKSEN has had a hand in shaping almost every important law that affects our lives.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a politician in the finest sense of that much-abused word. If he were here, I think he might put it this way: A politician knows that more important than the bill that is proposed is the law that is passed. A politician knows that his friends are not always his allies and that his adversaries are not his enemies. A politician knows how to make the process of democracy work, and loves the intricate workings of the democratic system. A politician knows not only how to count votes but how to make his vote count. A politician knows that his words are his weapons, but that his word is his bond. A politician knows that only if he leaves room for discussion and room for concession can he gain room for maneuver. A politician knows that the best way to be a winner is to make the other side feel it does not have to be a loser. A politician in the DIRKSEN tradition knows both the name of the game and the rules of the game, and he seeks his ends through the time-honored democratic means.

By being that kind of politician, this man of the minority earned the respect and affection of the majority, and by the special way he gave leadership to legislation, he added grace, elegance, and courtliness to the word "politician." That is how he became the leader of the minority, one of the leaders of our Nation. That is why, when the Senate worked its way, EVERETT DIRKSEN so often worked his way. That is why, while he never became President, his impact and influence on the Nation was greater than that of most Presidents in our history.

He was at once a tough-minded man and a complete gentleman. He could take issue without taking offense. And if that is an example of the old politics, let us hope that it always has its place in the politics of the future.

He is a man to be remembered, as we remember the other giants of the Senate—the Websters and Calhouns, the Vandenbergs and Tafts.

Some will remember his voice, that unforgettable voice that rolled as deep and majestically as the river that defines the western border of his State of Illinois that he loved so well.

Others will remember the unfailing, often self-deprecating sense of humor which proved that a man of serious purpose need never take himself too seriously.

Others will remember the master of language, the gift of oratory that placed him in a class with Bryan and Churchill, showing, as only he would put it, that the oil can is mightier than the sword.

But as we do honor to his memory, let us never forget the single quality that made him unique, the quality that made him powerful, that made him beloved—the quality of character.

EVERETT DIRKSEN cultivated an appearance that made him seem old-fashioned, an incarnation of a bygone year. But that quality of character is as modern as a Saturn V.

As he could persuade, he could be persuaded. His respect for other points of view lent weight to his own point of view. He was not afraid to change his position if he were persuaded that he had been wrong. That tolerance and sympathy were elements of his character; and that character gained him the affection and esteem of millions of his fellow Americans.

We shall always remember EVERETT DIRKSEN in the terms he used to describe his beloved marigolds: Hardy, vivid, exuberant, colorful, and uniquely American.

To his family, his staff, and his legion of friends who knew and loved EVERETT DIRKSEN, I would like to add a personal word: There are memorable moments we will never know again—those eloquent speeches, the incomparable anecdotes, those wonderfully happy birthday parties. But he least of all would want this to be a sad occasion. With his dramatic sense of history, I can hear him now speaking of the glory of this moment.

As a man of politics, he knew both victory and defeat. As a student of philosophy, he knew the triumph and the tragedy and the mystery of life. And as a student of history, he knew that some men achieve greatness; others are not recognized for their greatness until after their death. Only a privileged few live to hear the favorable verdict of history on their careers.

Two thousand years ago, the poet Sophocles wrote:

> One must wait until the evening
> To see how splendid the day has been.

We who were privileged to be his friends can take comfort in the fact that Everett Dirksen, in the rich evening of his life, his leadership unchallenged, his mind clear, his great voice still powerful across the land, could look back upon his life and say, "The day has indeed been splendid."

U.S. Senator Howard H. Baker, on behalf of the family, responded to the President's eulogy as follows:

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I speak for Mrs. Dirksen and the rest of the family when I express our deep gratitude to you and to the many Americans throughout this country who for the last several hours have so eloquently expressed their grief and their condolences. We are profoundly grateful to you and to them.

A century ago, another man from Illinois first lay in state on this catafalque, on this spot, described by Sandburg as "midway between House and Senate Chambers, midway between those seats and aisles of heartbreak and passion."

And so it was with Everett Dirksen—a man of his Nation who served long and well in both of those Chambers.

Everett Dirksen cherished Lincoln, but with a great humility that rejected any thought of comparison. He sought to follow many of the precepts of the Lincoln legacy. Both men understood with singular clarity that a great and diverse people do not speak with a single voice and that adherence to rigid ideology leaves little room for compromise and response to change.

A man of imposing presence and bearing, Everett McKinley Dirksen was nonetheless a man of eminent wit, humor, and perspective, who kept himself and others constantly on guard against taking themselves too seriously.

He was guided by a simple religious faith, carrying through life a sense of the presence of the Creator, and doing homage to the small, frail spark of immortality which defines the human spirit.

But perhaps most of all his hero was the people. He was of the people. Born of immigrant parents, his mother arrived in this country at an early age, speaking no English and with a tag about her neck instructing only that she be sent to Pekin, Ill. He knew firsthand "melting pot" America—its diversity and hardship, the brilliance of its people going about the business of forging a magnificent nation; and he loved them. All of them. And few are privileged to love so well. I think the people saw something of their own greatness in EVERETT DIRKSEN, and understood and respected him for it.

He was an idealist, but he was a realist as well, and in the end he chose calmly to risk his life, electing uncertain surgery in order to gain the opportunity to live and serve further; and he lost. But in losing he fixed with permanence the image of a noble man of the people.

The Chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Elson, thereupon pronounced the benediction, as follows:

Receive the benediction.

Now may the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## PROCEEDINGS RESUMED

At 12 o'clock and 40 minutes p.m. the Senate returned to its Chamber, and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Eagleton in the chair).

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

### SENATE RESOLUTION 255

*Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed to arrange for and attend the funeral of the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, late a Senator from the State of Illinois, on vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution is considered and agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, *September 10, 1969.*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the distinguished majority leader, I make the following announcement: It is suggested that the Senate will recess at 11:45, subject to the call of the Chair. The Senate will then proceed in a body to the rotunda to pay its respects to the late minority leader, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, as his body is removed from the Capitol.

Transportation will be available to the 1 p.m. services to be held at the National Presbyterian Church, 4123 Nebraska Avenue NW.

Senators attending the church services should assemble on the Senate stairs of the Capitol at 12:15 p.m.

It is likely that the Senate will reconvene by 3 p.m.

## RECESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair. For the information of the Senate, we will very likely be back in session somewhere between 2 and 2:15 this afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 11 o'clock and 52 minutes a.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 2 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Gravel in the chair).

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I have listened with great appreciation while others have praised EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN for his leadership and his responsibility to that leadership during his long service in the Senate. I have been particularly impressed by the work he has done, especially when I reflect that he left Congress in 1949 with an eye condition which apparently indicated that he would be completely away from active participation. Subsequently, he found medical men who felt that his sight could be improved. He received some expert care.

He became a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1950. I felt that the reason he was elected to the Senate was the care he displayed in meeting the people at every level. He wore out two automobiles in that campaign. He traveled back and forth throughout his State, over and over, and many participants in that election asked him to do almost impossible tasks while speaking to their local groups. But he took real joy in campaigning. He was determined to participate in every segment of the State and every occupation whether it was banking or partisan activities.

I came to know and like Senator Dirksen when he was serving in the House of Representatives. I sought to persuade him that many of the Truman activities involved all types of leadership. Best of all, he remembered his friends and always had a kind word for those who had known him for a long time.

His family rated very high in his responsibilities. He was not interested merely in official activities in the Senate but recognized what needed to be done to take care of his friends and his duties. Many people in Illinois can testify to the fact that he searched out their problems and did his best to take care of them.

As a member of the Committee on Finance, he was an excellent representative of his people, yet he never tried to usurp leadership in the Senate. Time after time we all enjoyed his friendly personality, and we will all miss him in this committee as we try to work out a tax proposal. He was a true friend of all of us. I certainly hope that the country will appreciate all that he did.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a telegram received from the Chargé d'Affaires of the German Embassy relative to the passing of our dear friend, Senator Everett Dirksen, be printed in the Record at this point. I realize that it is improper to print it in a foreign language, so I ask unanimous consent that the English translation be printed with the signature attesting to it.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

German Embassy,
*Washington, D.C., September 9, 1969.*

My Dear Mr. Vice President: I have the honor to transmit to you the following telegram:

"On the passing away of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, who for many years led the Republican party in the Senate, I would like to convey my and the German Bundestag's sincere sympathy to you, to the U.S. Senate and to the family of the deceased. We join you in mourning for a great parliamentarian and protagonist of the free Western world.

"Very sincerely yours,

"Von Hassel,
*"President of the German Bundestag."*

Respectfully yours,

Dirk Oncken,
*Minister, Chargé d'Affaires a. i.*

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, the death of Senator Dirksen surprised and saddened us all. He was an extraordinary man, one of the best known personalities of our time, and a Senator for whom I believe most Americans had a genuine affection. We shall miss him.

To Mrs. Dirksen and to his daughter, the wife of our colleague from Tennessee, I extend my deepest sympathy.

While Senator Dirksen was a Senator from his native State of Illinois, he built a home and lived for many years in Virginia. I think it is appropriate, therefore, to include in the Record the editorial comments on Senator Dirksen's death by the two newspapers published in Virginia's capital city, Richmond. I ask unanimous consent that editorials published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the News Leader be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Sept. 8, 1969]

### Senator Dirksen

When Rep. Everett McKinley Dirksen voluntarily left the House of Representatives in 1949 after 16 years of service in that body, hard-nosed Democratic leader Sam Rayburn said: "If they are going to send Republicans to Congress, let them send Republicans of the Everett Dirksen kind."

"They"—the people of Illinois—two years later did send Everett Dirksen back to Congress, this time to the Senate. And today, most Americans, of both parties, doubtless would say the voters of Illinois made a substantial contribution to the nation's well-being when they selected this tousled-haired, gravel-voiced, self-styled "old-fashioned garden variety of Republican" to sit in the national legislature.

For although Everett Dirksen has assumed something of the proportions of "Mr. Republican," the fact is that he laid aside partisanship to support Democratic administrations in crucial matters of foreign policy, as well as in other areas where the nation's welfare was critically involved.

He was called a "thorn in FDR's side" because of his vigorous opposition to Roosevelt's domestic policies. But after 1941 he supported FDR on vital foreign policy issues, just as he often did years later when other Democrats—Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy—occupied the White House.

When strong GOP partisans rapped Dirksen for backing some of Kennedy's foreign practices, the Illinois senator replied:

You start from the broad premise that all of us have a common duty to the country to perform. Legislation is always the art of the possible. You could, of course, follow a course of solid opposition, of stalemate, but that is not in the interest of the country.

To the general public, Dirksen was best known for his oratorical powers and his marvelous—and sometimes baffling—use of the language. When he returned to the Capitol on crutches in 1966 after a fall out of bed that had laid him up for a while, he said he was ready to "slay an ass with the jawbone of a crutch." And once, instead of admonishing two senators to be more friendly, he directed them to "resume your congenial and felicitous relationship."

Everett Dirksen was a man who loved his country deeply. It wasn't long ago that he made a recording titled "Gallant Men," in which, among other things, he recited, in that organ-voice of his, the Star-Spangled Banner, the Gettysburg Address and the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. As columnist Norman Rowe observed in his review in this paper, "If you can listen . . . without patriotic goose pimples, then you're too far gone to stand up and be counted."

As Republican leader in the Senate, Dirksen did not always see eye-to-eye with the present occupant of the White House during the relatively short period of the present administration. He was credited, or blamed, for example, with preventing the appointment of Dr. John Knowles, as assistant secretary of health, education and welfare. But Dirksen has been one of the GOP's major assets over the many years he served in Washington at the seat of power.

At about mid-point of his public career, Everett Dirksen flirted seriously with the idea of seeking the presidency. He didn't pursue this goal very long, and perhaps he would not have made a good executive had he been successful. But he was completely at home in the august chamber of the United States Senate, and he made a mark there that will long be recorded in the history of the happenings on Capitol Hill.

[From the Richmond (Va.) News Leader, Sept. 8, 1969]

### SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSEN

Politics, the saying goes, is the art of the possible, and in the world's preeminent deliberative body, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a practitioner of the possible *par excellence*. With the late Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, Senator DIRKSEN probably was the most widely respected Senator of his generation. Yet whereas Senator Taft was revered for the power of his intellect, Senator DIRKSEN was admired for his gifts as a political technician. Senator Taft was a philosopher; Senator DIRKSEN, basically, was a philosophical doer.

In an age that practically has forgotten what rhetoric is, Senator DIRKSEN was the closest thing we had to a Ciceronian rhetorician. Perhaps when all else about him is forgotten, he will be remembered for that. Words fell from his mouth mellifluously. Listening to him in comparison with most other contemporary Senators was like listening to a 33 rpm recording of the New York Philharmonic played on the best stereo set, in contrast to a 78 rpm of the local fifth-grade band played on granpa's old Victrola. He knew what well-chosen words, well-spoken and properly laced with humor, could do. For him, and for the United States, they did a great deal.

The essential purpose of rhetoric is to persuade. Senator DIRKSEN's extraordinary talent as a legislator was his capacity to persuade a majority of Senators to vote with him on a particular issue. As the Senate's Republican leader for ten years—during none of which he had a Republican majority in the Senate, and during eight of which he had a Democrat in the White House—Senator DIRKSEN worked political miracles. In doing so, he infuriated all segments of the political spectrum. His efforts brought about Senate confirmation of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963 and Senate passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. Yet he was instrumental in the Senate's recent approval of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System, and he labored diligently for the day when Constitutional amendments could be approved that would alter the effect of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions and deny the Court's authority in cases involving nondenominational prayers in the public schools.

"The letters of Cicero breathe the purest effusions of an exalted patriot," Jefferson wrote. So did the orations of the last Cicero, EVERETT DIRKSEN. He loved America, loved it absolutely. His patriotism was manifested in many ways, but perhaps no more clearly than in his constant forensic struggle to make the marigold the national flower. The marigold, he told the Senate, has a "rugged humility of character; and, like the American eagle and the American flag, [is] an exclusively American emblem." He might as well have been describing himself, for behind the clouds of florid verbiage, there was a ruggedly humble Senator who stood exclusively for American interests. For that, too, we who remain behind must send him final gratitude, and wish him every success as he delivers the votes on the celestial Senate floor.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the funeral service for the late Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, held on September 10, 1969, at the National Presbyterian Chuch, and at the graveside service held for him on September 11, 1969, in Pekin, Ill. The first services were conducted by the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, the Chaplain of the Senate, assisted by the Reverend Charles H. Reckard; the second services were conducted by the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, and assisted by the Reverend Charles H. Reckard and the Reverend Ralph H. Cordes, the latter being from Pekin, Ill.

### FUNERAL SERVICE OF SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN IN THE NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1969, 1 P.M.

The Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., officiating, assisted by The Rev. Charles H. Reckard.

The United States Army Chorus, Captain Allen Crowell, Director.

Sentences from Holy Scripture, Dr. Elson:

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

"The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.

"I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though this body be destroyed, yet shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger.

"Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me. Bless His Holy Name."

Prayer, Mr. Reckard:

"Eternal Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, draw us close to thee this hour; and let thy light and job fill our souls as we offer unto thee the praise and thanksgiving of our hearts for the mystery and wonder of life here and hereafter. We thank thee for the revelation of thyself in Jesus Christ, and for the everlasting hope set before us in the gospel. Speak to us thy living word, that we may have thy comfort and strength and walk henceforth in newness of life. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Hymn, "How Firm A Foundation" to the tune of Adeste Fideles, The United States Army Chorus:

"How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord,
Is laid for your faith in His excellent Word!
What more can He say than to you He hath said,
You who unto Jesus for refuge have fled?
You who unto Jesus for refuge have fled?

"Fear not, I am with thee, O be not dismayed;
For I am Thy God, and will still give thee aid;
I'll strengthen thee, help thee, and cause thee to stand,
Upheld by My righteous, omnipotent hand,
Upheld by My righteous, omnipotent hand.

"When through the deep waters I call thee to go,
The rivers of woe shall not thee overflow;
For I will be with thee thy troubles to bless,
And sanctify to thee thy deepest distress,
And sanctify to thee thy deepest distress.

"The soul that on Jesus hath leaned for repose,
I will not, I will not desert to his foes;
That soul, though all hell should endeavor to shake,
I'll never, no never, no never forsake,
I'll never, no, never, no, never forsake."
Amen.

Psalm 46, Mr. Reckard:

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea;

Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the most High.

God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early.

The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: he uttered his voice, the earth melted.

The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he hath made in the earth.

He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.

Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.

The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

Psalm 23, Mr. Reckard:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

Poem, "The Traveler," by James Dillet Freeman, Mr. Reckard:

"He has put on invisibility.
Dear Lord, I cannot see—
But this I know, although the road ascends
And passes from my sight,
That there will be no night;
That You will take him gently by the hand
And lead him on
Along the road of life that never ends,
And he will find it is not death but dawn.
I do not doubt that You are there as here,
And You will hold him dear.

"Our life did not begin with birth,
It is not of the earth;
And this what we call death, it is no more
And he will find it is not death but dawn.
And in Your house how many rooms must be
Beyond this one where we rest momently.

"Dear Lord, I thank You for the faith that frees,
The love that knows it cannot lose its own;
The love that, looking through the shadows, sees
That You and he and I are ever one!"

Dr. Elson: "Hear the reading of God's word, being excerpts from the Letters of Paul, the Apostle, and the words of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Romans 8: 14, 35, 37–39: As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

"Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.

"For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come,

"Nor height, or depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

"I Thessalonians 4: 13, 14, 18: But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.

"For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

"Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

"II Corinthians 4: 5: For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

"I Corinthians 13: 9–13: For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.

"But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

"When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

"For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

"And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three but the greatest of these is charity.

"I Corinthians 15: 57, 58: Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Therefore, by beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

"Ephesians 6:10–18: Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

"Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

"For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

"Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

"Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness;

"And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;

"Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

"And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:

"Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit.

"Matthew 5: 3, 4: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted.

"John 14: Jesus said: 'Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in Me. In My Father's house are many dwelling places: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know. I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by Me.

" 'These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.'

"Let us pray.

"Eternal Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, draw us close to Thee and let Thy light and joy fill our souls as we offer unto Thee the praise and thanksgiving of our hearts; for the mystery and wonder of life here and hereafter. We thank Thee that deep in the human heart is an unquenchable trust that life does not end with death, that the Father who made us will care for us beyond he bounds of vision even as He has cared for us in this earthly pilgrimage. We praise Thy name that our hope has been so wondrously confirmed in the life, the words and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Almighty God, Father of mercies and Giver of all comfort, deal graciously, we pray Thee, with all those who mourn this day, that casting every care on Thee, they may know the consolation of Thy love, the healing of Thy grace, and the companionship of Thy presence. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"O Thou who art from everlasting to everlasting, come upon us this day with a vivid and intimate awareness of Thy presence, that we may know that with Thee the temporal and the eternal have no distinction. Surround us with Thy love, impart to us Thy healing grace and bring to us the ministry of hallowed memory and sacred recollection.

"We thank Thee for Thy servant and our comrade, EVERETT, who has fought a good fight, kept the faith, finished his course and is at rest with Thee. For the nobility of his manhood, the magnanimity of his spirit, the hospitality of his mind, and the inclusiveness of his friendship we give Thee thanks. For his massive mind, his matchless speech, his powers of persuasion, and his parliamentary skills we give thanks to Thee. For his elevated patriotism and his manly piety, for his grace and dignity in public service we give thanks to Thee. For his prodigious energy spent in self-sacrificing public service, for his fortitude in suffering, and his witness to values which are everlasting, we give thanks to Thee. May the integrity of his manhood, the radiance of his character, the warmth of his personality, his gentle but subtle humor and his sense of the divine in all things human, remain as an abiding legacy for all generations. May his golden voice now silenced on this side be lifted in everlasting praise with choirs invisible on the other side of the great divide. May the land he loved and the nation he served become more and more a foretaste of the Kingdom whose builder and maker is God. In Thy Holy Name we pray. Amen.

"O Eternal Father, suffer us not to miss the glory of this hour. May a new spirit arise in us this day. Give us eyes to see and hearts to feel the undaunted courage, the invincible faith, the unconquerable love of Thy servant, EVERETT that we may be true as he was true, loyal as he was loyal;

that we may henceforth be good enough and great enough for our times. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"And now, O Father, who doest all things well, with thankful hearts that Thou has given him to us for a season, we give Thy servant, EVERETT, back to Thy tender care until the shadows flee away, and the brighter day dawns, when the visible and invisible are as one in Thy higher Kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Lord's Prayer, by Albert Hay Malotte, the United States Army Chorus, Specialist 7 Kenneth B. Corcoran, Soloist:

"Our Father, who art in heaven; Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done; On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts; As we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil; For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

Benediction: The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be upon you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Recessional.

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## GRAVESIDE SERVICES FOR SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, PEKIN, ILL., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1969

Conducted by the Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., Chaplain, U.S. Senate, assisted by the Rev. Charles H. Reckard, Pastor, Woodland Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, Louisiana, the Rev. Ralph H. Cordes, Pastor, Second Reformed Church, Pekin, Illinois.

Procession to grave hymns played by The 505th Air Force Band, Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois.

Sentences from Holy Scripture, Dr. Elson: "In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

"I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.

"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee for he trusteth in Thee."

Committal statement, Dr. Elson: "The last march is ended; a mighty man of God has answered his last roll call.

"His battles are all fought, his victories all won; and he lies down to rest awaiting the final bugle call.

"What is mortal of thy servant, EVERETT, we commit to this hallowed place.

"What is immortal we commit to the tender care of the Eternal Father who doeth all things well.

"Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in hope of a glorious and eternal resurrection through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Prayer, Dr. Elson: "Let us pray. Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity; we give Thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those Thy servants, who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors. And we beseech Thee, that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of Thy Holy Name may have their perfect consummation and bliss both in body and in soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Prayer, Mr. Cordes: "Let us pray. Almighty and everlasting God, creator and giver of life, we give thee humble thanks for Thy divine providence that is over life, that brings order out of chaos, light out of darkness and life out of death. We give thanks that through Jesus Christ we may know Thee, love Thee and serve Thee. We are grateful to Thee for the life of EVERETT DIRKSEN. Thy divine providence was over his godly nurture and Christian training. Thou didst call him out of humble background to serve his nation in the military, and in national leadership. We give Thee thanks for the purpose and goal of his life, for his tireless efforts, for his unselfish service and for his deep compassion to help those in need, and to truly serve his country and his God. As of old Thou didst seek a man to build a wall and to stand in the breach for Thee in the land, and we are glad that this has been his place of service and that Thou didst enable him to fill it well. Inspire us by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, that in commitment to Thee, we may serve without the desire to be served, that we may love without asking to be loved, that we may give without counting the cost, and that we may work without asking for reward, doing that which is our duty to do that we may finally hear of Thee, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

Benediction: Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in Me. Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.

The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Firing of three volleys.

Taps.

Ceremonial folding of the flag.

Withdrawal of pall bearers.

Presentation of flag to Mrs. Dirksen by Lt. Gen. Vernon P. Mock, U.S.A., Commanding General of the Fifth Army.

The Vice President presented his respects to Mrs. Dirksen.

The Governor of Illinois presented his respects to Mrs. Dirksen.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, one of the most concise, yet eloquent, tributes I have yet seen to the late Senator DIRKSEN, came in an editorial from the San Diego Union on September 9, 1969. I ask unanimous consent that this expressive eulogy be printed in the Record.

## A SERVANT OF GOD AND COUNTRY: DIRKSEN MADE SIMPLICITY GREAT

"In God We Trust."

The phrase was more than a motto to Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. It was a way of life.

Since his death Sunday afternoon, there have been many eulogies and many reminiscences. Not a few have lamented the passing of the Senate's great orator of the old eloquent tradition.

We shared the joy of Senator DIRKSEN's resonant speeches.

But the senior senator from Illinois must be remembered for more than a great oratorical style.

Here was a man who believed fiercely in the basic differences between right and wrong.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a broad man, one whose priorities were simple. He gave his first allegiance to God, his second to the United States of America, his third to his family, his fourth to the Republican Party.

Without Senator DIRKSEN, President Kennedy would not have had the nuclear test ban treaty which is regarded as his tallest monument.

Mr. DIRKSEN's reasoning was simple:

"I should not like to have written on my tombstone: 'He knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he did not take the first step.' "

Without Senator DIRKSEN, President Johnson would not have had the civil rights legislation that he considers his greatest contribution to the nation.

Without Senator DIRKSEN, President Eisenhower's programs would have been emasculated in his last two years in office by a highriding, newly-elected Democratic majority.

Without Senator DIRKSEN, President Nixon probably would not have won Senate approval of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system. Without Senator DIRKSEN, Mr. Nixon now faces trying days on Capitol Hill. No one since Sen. Robert A. Taft better deserved the title of "Mr. Republican."

It is hard to forget how he stood staunchly alongside President Johnson in the trying ordeal of Vietnam, privately leaning toward a "victory" policy, but publicly supporting the chief executive on what to DIRKSEN were the best of all grounds:

"Because he is my President . . ."

Senator DIRKSEN died without satisfying one of his fiercest convictions—the restoration of prayer to public schools.

In Mr. DIRKSEN's view, the Supreme Court decisions outlawing school prayer had taken something basic away from America.

His memory could be served in no better way than to hasten passage of a constitutional amendment that put prayer back in the classroom and reasserts the nation's faith in the words EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN lived by:

"In God We Trust."

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, following the death of our beloved colleague, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Ray Hatley, manager of WRAD, Radford, Va., broadcast a splendid tribute to him. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

[From WRAD news broadcast, Sept. 8, 1969]

### SENATOR DIRKSEN

Senator DIRKSEN—the DJ's friend—has passed away.

Illinois Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN—the most colorful person in Congress—died at 4:52 yesterday afternoon in the Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C. He had undergone surgery on Tuesday for lung cancer. He died of a heart attack.

His death has brought expressions of genuine grief and shock from the Presidential level on down, on both sides of Congress.

After all, everybody liked the wavy haired Senator with the deep voice and rich oratorical style whether they agreed with him or not.

The Disc Jockies of Station WRAD are among those mourning his loss. Senator DIRKSEN, 73, made two long playing albums for Capital Records, including "Gallant Men," and "Man Is Not Alone."

And he was the object of a good natured satire on a 45 rpm. that was played regularly by WRAD in the past year entitled, "Senator Everett McKinley. . . ."

WRAD disc jockies Bob Smith, Tom Sawyers, Larry Childress and Al Wayne played the LP's of Senator DIRKSEN regularly on their shows. He will be missed.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, like so many of us, Dr. G. S. Bruland, pastor of the First United Methodist Church in Hawarden, Iowa, was an admirer of our colleague, the late Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN.

After Senator DIRKSEN's death, Dr. Bruland composed a poem for reading during the memorial service for the minority leader at the Hawarden Rotary Club.

I ask unanimous consent that the poem be printed in the Record.

### EVERETT DIRKSEN

(By Godfrey S. Bruland)

We never know how far a boy
  May tread up rapid streams
When he is mastered by the joy
  Of early fervid dreams.

But is the lad endowed with health,
And viewing towering sights,
And owns the boyhood's priceless wealth
Of will, he'll reach the heights.

There lived a youngster in mid-west,
And Dirksen was his name.
His visions would not give him rest,
But prompted him to'ard fame.

When this bright lad became a man
The world looked up to see
The pattern of the Maker's plan,
Which grew in brilliancy.

As he grew wise his hopes soared high;
His will became the force
Which answered his ambition's cry,
And held it to its course.

He plunged into the streams of life
To join great citizens
And mingled in their heat of strife,
A dedicated man.

He fought his battles and he won;
Then left his native state
To take his place in Washington;
His seat among the great.

I treasured his sincerity,
And praise him for his love
To'ard aged, and posterity,
His reverence, too, for God.

I cherished his philosophy,
His heart which kept its youth;
His genuine sincerity
That made him fight for truth.

Deep in the furrows of his face
Hid springs of mirthful wit,
And when they hurdled into space
His eyes with fun were lit.

In tribute to your life we say;
Move on and never stop,
But honor the eternal Day
By climbing up, and up!

# MEMORIAL TRIBUTES
IN THE
UNITED STATES SENATE

WEDNESDAY, *October 29, 1969.*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, we give Thee thanks for all Thy servants who have witnessed to Thy grace and power in their generation. As we offer our tribute of esteem and affection for EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, a comrade of the years, we give thanks for his piety and his patriotism, his wisdom and his humor, his love of nature and of his home, his strength of intellect and his power of speech, his devotion to duty and his support of good causes, his love of the Bible and his faithfulness to the God of the Book, for the song in his heart and the joy of his spirit.

Make us mindful of our own frailty and our immorality that we may live each day aware of Thy divine judgment. Bless this Nation and honor the service of all who are Members of this body, that we may be true as he was true, loyal as he was loyal, that this good land many be strengthened in righteousness, justice, and peace. Amen.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. PERCY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, apart from our collective memory of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN—seated, standing, or pacing before this Chamber; whispering, rumbling, advocating, embellishing, pleading, cajoling, and frequently persuading—each of us retains his distinct and private memories of our departed leader.

I think I shall always remember him most vividly in the setting where I first got to know him years ago—at innumerable political dinners in our State of Illinois. Usually their intent was to raise funds and their theme was invariably partisan. Their flavor, however, was pure Dirksen.

Following a version of the National Anthem—during which the assembled audience would grope for the key—the group would sit through an all-too-frequent meal of chicken and peas and then through perhaps a dozen "brief" preliminary speeches, each of them viewing with alarm the latest outrage perpetrated by the Democrats. Hundreds, occasionally thousands of people, would patiently sit through these evenings without complaint only because of the promised finale: An address by the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen. A political audience would pay any price, bear any burden, to hear him speak.

They were seldom, if ever, disappointed.

As often as not, Everett would begin with a typically Dirksenesque tale which, had anyone else dared to offer it, immediately would have fallen flat. But Everett would tell his story with a sly twinkle in his eye and a mischievous note in his voice, his resonant voice rolling out the vowels; and no matter how farfetched, no matter how many times if had been heard before, the punchline invariably brought down the house. The audience was his, then and forever. People would knowingly whisper to one another: "Ev is in great form tonight," or "You can't top the old boy." They would then settle back, satisfied that the evening's events had been rendered worth while by the star performer.

On these occasions, at which I usually was seated nearby, and I must say with candor not without envy, the minority leader seemingly arrived quite unprepared. He appeared hurriedly and late, often—as he liked to remind the audience—directly from the Senate floor. There was no evidence of a text, and only an occasional note scribbled on a piece of paper.

And yet, as he weaved his magic, it was soon evident that he had no need of the usual props that sustain a political speaker.

He would talk glowingly of the Republican Party: "Gerry Ford—before that it was Charlie Halleck—and I need more troops in Washington," he would say, and then predict an unquestioned Republican majority, if not in the next Congress, then most assuredly in the one just after it.

He would speak in respectful tones of "my Commander in Chief," regardless of who occupied the White House at the time and regardless of his party. Frequently, he would confide to the audience the commonsense advice he had privately offered to the President that very week.

He would share aloud his grave concern over the economy, over the high cost of the Federal bureaucracy, over the Supreme Court, the future of the marigold, the Constitution or, quite likely, over all these matters. Yet in the end, he would talk with optimism and eloquence about our country, about its greatness and its promise, and his audience returned to their homes on the prairie, proud in their hearts to be Americans, and grateful that EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was representing them in the highest councils of Government.

When I came to the Senate 3 years ago, I soon realized that the respect and affection he kindled at these Illinois dinners was shared by those who know him best—his colleagues in this body. And here, as in Illinois, he returned that respect and affection in full measure.

EVERETT DIRKSEN's political prowess at home was more than matched by his legislative skill in Washington. His secret perhaps was that, while a master of the reasonable compromise, he would never compromise a principle—and he would never ask another man to do so. It would have been easy enough for EV DIRKSEN as the leader of my party in the Senate, and as the famed senior Senator from my own State, to ask me to go his way on many an issue, even when he knew my inclination was in another direction—and it would have put me in a difficult position to refuse. But he never once did. Before I came to Washington, he said that, whenever conscience dictated, we should simply agree to disagree, and he always honored that principle between us.

Certainly one reason that his Republican colleagues elected him their leader time and time again was that he always respected each man's independence, individuality, and point of view. For he himself was an independent man of strong beliefs. Above all, he was a unique individual—an original in an era that discourages originality.

For more than 35 years, EVERETT DIRKSEN's life was devoted almost entirely to his family, his country, and Congress. He left his vivid imprint not only on each of these, but on every individual who knew him. He touched our lives with his special vibrancy and resilience, his color and passion, his wit and wisdom. A man who so amply embodied these qualities cannot leave us without great sadness. We shall all miss him.

I know I do.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH SCOTT*

### OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Illinois, who has spoken so movingly of the great man we honor here today.

First, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks the report to the people of Tennessee of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Baker) for the week of September 14, 1969, consisting of the remarks which he made in the Rotunda of the Capitol in response to the eulogy of the late Senator Dirksen by President Nixon. (See exhibit 1, p. 38.)

As one who stands in his stead, but cannot presume to take his place, I rise to join in our eulogy of a great Senator. We call to mind the wonderful associations all of us in this body have had with him. While today we eulogize him, it is not possible to replace, except in fond memories, the position held by that great and distinguished leader of the Republican Party. Today we remember a man whose memory entertains the endearing recognition of all of us in this body and of millions and millions of Americans. We remember today that each day as he came to the Senate he had a bright and friendly comment. He delighted the American public and he delighted us. He contributed a spirit of accommodation to this body unsurpassed in my recollection. Yet, his spirit and stature fully recognized his responsibilities as an American first and foremost, as the senior Senator from Illinois, and as a great leader of his party.

Today we remember and recognize the warmth and compassion of Everett Dirksen. We remember his sense of humor. We remember, perhaps one of the greatest qualities which he had, the unstinting ability to view himself in due proportion as one of God's humble creatures.

With engaging humor, he played games with his own posture. We, who enjoyed that deprecating exercise, nevertheless, recognize his great position and high responsibilities in the events of this Nation which he dealt with so well, so long, and so successfully.

It was in his moment of greatest triumph that I had the honor to work with him. We all remember his unstinting role in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the United Nations bond issue, and a long list of equally great triumphs.

His leadership was unusual but unusually effective. His personality was appealing and his ability to gain the support of others on a wide variety of matters was unquestioned.

He had the undaunting courage to oppose when he felt he was in the right. In matters of his own well-developed conscience and search for the right, he opposed his constituents, his colleagues, and even his President. In matters which he supported, he supported all the way, and those who gained his support and whose support he gained, were numerous indeed.

His works are monuments to constructive achievement on behalf of his State, his party, and his Nation. His triumphs were often the triumphs of Congress and in a very real sense every President under whom he served.

He was patient under suffering; courteous amidst confrontation; cheerful as an adversary. His spirit was the spirit of the successful, and he demonstrated his delight and gratification at each of his long line of successes.

His oratory provided the bridges over which those who had already been persuaded could walk. It was the essence of persuasion which demonstrated all the smoothness and gentleness which was his as a man. It was the icing on the cake which he had already baked.

Today we honor the Nation when we eulogize Ev Dirksen. We honor all those who knew and loved him and worked with him. We will remember him. We cannot forget him.

To the unique, unforgettable Everett Dirksen we say our warm, fond farewell. And to his wife, Louella, who epitomizes that oft said cliché, "Behind every great man there is a woman." To his daughter, Joy, and his son-in-law and our colleague, Senator Baker, Marian and I extend our deepest sympathy.

(EXHIBIT 1)

## REPORT TO TENNESSEE

(By U.S. Senator Howard H. Baker)

(Due to the death of U.S. Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Senator Howard H. Baker did not write his usual column this week. Below is the response Senator Baker made in the Rotunda to the eulogy by President Nixon of Senator DIRKSEN.)

Mr. President, thank you. I speak for Mrs. Dirksen and the rest of the family when I express our deep gratitude to you and to many Americans throughout the country for their thoughtfulness at this time. We are profoundly grateful.

A century ago another man from Illinois first lay in state on this catafalque, on this spot, described by Sandburg as "midway between House and Senate chambers, midway between those seats and aisles of heartbreak and passion."

And so it is with EVERETT DIRKSEN—a man of his nation who served long and well in both of those chambers.

EVERETT DIRKSEN cherished Lincoln, but with a great humility that rejected any thought of comparison. He sought to follow many of the precepts that are the Lincoln legacy. Both men understood with singular clarity that a great and diverse people do not speak with a single voice and that adherence to rigid ideology leaves little room for compromise and response to change.

A man of imposing presence and bearing, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was nonetheless a man of eminent wit, humor, and perspective, who kept himself and others constantly on guard against taking themselves too seriously.

He was guided by a simple religious faith, carrying through life a sense of the Creator's presence and doing homage to the small frail spark of immortality which defines the human spirit.

But perhaps most of all his hero was the people. He was of the people. Born of immigrant parents, his mother arrived in this country speaking no English and with a tag about her neck instructing only that she be sent to Pekin, Ill. He knew first hand "melting pot" America—its diversity and hardship, the brilliance of its people going about the business of forging a magnificent nation, and he loved them. All of them. Few people have loved so well, and I think the people saw something of their own greatness in him and understood and respected him for it.

This man was an idealist, but a realist as well; and in the end he chose calmly to risk his life, electing uncertain surgery in order to gain the opportunity to live and serve further, and he lost. But in losing, he fixed with permanence the image of a noble man of the people.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. MIKE MANSFIELD*

## OF MONTANA

Mr. President, on September 7, 1969, EVERETT M. DIRKSEN died at Walter Reed Hospital in the city of Washington. His death broke a hundred relationships which he had in the Senate. It opened the links which held him to all of us as a body and to each of us as a friend and colleague. We knew him in the same way and each of us knew him in his own way.

There was the public EVERETT M. DIRKSEN who stood at that desk across this aisle—intent, relaxed, fierce, gentle, humorous, earnest—as a mood was upon him and as an issue moved him. As a group, the Senate knew that EVERETT DIRKSEN. The galleries, too, saw and heard him. The press characterized and sometimes, and without malice, caricatured him for a Nation which came to delight in him.

One remembers that EVERETT DIRKSEN in flickers of remembrance, his passionate defense of flowers and above all of his beloved marigolds, the deft brush of words painting a landscape of the Illinois countryside and the little red schoolhouse, the surging references to the sagas of history, the quotations from Shakespeare and the poets and the statesmen of the past.

Above all, one remembers his keynote phrase. When he said of a measure that it was "an idea whose time has come," whether in civil rights, in nuclear testing, or other of the great issues of his time, he announced a newly formed conviction which would move him to action. With that phrase, too, he illuminated time and again his capacity for change in a changing world.

As majority leader, I owe much—very much—to that capacity of EVERETT DIRKSEN. The Senate and the Nation owe much to it for what it has meant to the legislative history of the past decade.

For me as for every Senator there was still another EVERETT DIRKSEN, a personal DIRKSEN. I knew him as a determined Member of the House and I knew him in the Senate after 1953. I knew him best during those past 10 years when I shared with him the joint leadership of the Senate.

When I think of that personal EVERETT DIRKSEN, I remember his office where we met so frequently and of his tolerance, understanding, and unfailing kindness. I remember, too, the laughter, now stilled, which so short a time ago he engendered in the Senate. I remember the tears which, on occasion, he provoked among us with the passionate vividness of his words. I remember the fierce divisions and the triumphant reconciliations in the Senate—both of which he was often the prime mover.

Others will come after him to the Senate as they have been here before him, to evoke the laughter, to bring forth the tears, to thrust and parry adroitly and then, adroitly, to suture the wounds and lay an issue to rest. They will come, but there will be in the permanence of the Senate something special about the place which is EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN's. If words must speak what his life has already spoken, let them say that he served the people of the State of Illinois, who sent him here, with a good heart and head, and the Nation with full faith and devotion. He was the Mr. Republican of an era. He was a Senator and a leader of the Senate. He was an American and a tower of strength to the Government of the United States. He will be remembered by all of us with affection, with respect, and with esteem.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. RALPH T. SMITH*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, my memories of EVERETT DIRKSEN are different from those of his colleagues who served with him over the years in this body. Of course, I never had that opportunity. But my memories are nonetheless clear and dear to my heart.

My first clear recollection of the Senator stems from his first campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1950, when he had the temerity to announce his candidacy against the incumbent Senator, who was then the majority leader of the U.S. Senate. The political professionals, of course, gave him only an outside chance, if any, to be successful. But EVERETT DIRKSEN stumped the State of Illinois with his campaign and emerged victorious to begin his long career in the Senate. I well remember him in that campaign, at which time I was a young lawyer in Alton, Ill., who, though an interested participant in the campaign as a worker, had never myself ran for office.

Through the years since, my association with Everett Dirksen covered many and various roads we walked together. As a candidate for the Illinois State Legislature in 1954, and every 2 years since, we shared the campaign trail and many a political platform together. His presence always swelled the crowd to capacity wherever he appeared. And when he walked up to the podium, I, with all his other friends and supporters, sat back to enjoy his always classic statements, and to share his wisdom and charm. We in Illinois were always proud to rate him with the great platform speakers of our time, and he never let us down. I always felt that the one word description of his public appearances was "charm," and we always looked forward to hearing him again, no matter how many times we had heard him before.

As I acquired some political maturity, I remember the many private conferences, either on the telephone or in person, in which we discussed the issues affecting Illinois and the Nation. And while he was always ready with good and sound advice on directions we should go, he always flattered others by seeking and listening to our advice and counsel.

Most of all, my memories of Everett Dirksen relate to three very personal incidents. None of these were matters of public interest or concern in any sense, but they will always linger in my memory as a true index of our relationship.

A number of years ago, I brought my wife and daughter east on a trip throughout this part of the country. When we stopped in Washington, I contacted the Senator's office and indicated my desire to pay my respects. He worked us into his busy schedule, and the three of us sat with Ev Dirksen in his office for over an hour chatting about many things. I have never forgotten his graciousness and hospitality in giving us more time than he had to spare, sharing himself with us.

The second incident relates to an occasion when Senator Dirksen made an appearance in my hometown of Alton as the principal speaker at one of our Lincoln Day fund raising dinners. He was to stay the night at the home of a mutual friend, who had a reception after the dinner to which some 30 or 40 people were invited. Most of the guests finally left, and the Senator, together with my family and the host family wound up sitting around the kitchen table late in the evening. Again, a chat with Ev DIRKSEN on an informal basis proved a delightful thing. When I finally realized how late it was, I suggested that we had better go home to let him get some rest, but he protested that he was certainly in no hurry to go to bed and urged us to stay longer. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, I understand he was up at 5 o'clock the next morning on his way to his next important engagement.

And finally, the memory I cherish most was the occasion when he appeared to speak at my alma mater, Illinois College, in Jacksonville at its commencement in 1967. I was on the campus that day for the purpose of a luncheon and specifically waited to greet him when he arrived. It was a Sunday afternoon, late in the Illinois legislative session in which I was then serving as speaker, and it was my intention to go on to Springfield after the luncheon meeting to do the work necessary to get ready for the opening of the session on Monday. When the Senator arrived, he asked if I was going to Springfield afterwards, and when I indicated I was, he asked if I would stay and drive him over since he had an airplane to catch there. When EVERETT DIRKSEN asked me for a ride, I naturally answered yes, and I was certainly delighted to stay. We left Jacksonville about 6 o'clock that evening and his airplane did not leave Springfield until 9. During that 3 hours, we drove from Jacksonville to Springfield, stopped in the State House and my office briefly, went to a small restaurant where we had a light dinner, and finally went to the airport. For that entire 3 hours I again had the chance to sit and chat in a purely private and personal way with this great man.

I do not suppose there are too many people in the world who have had 3 uninterrupted hours with EVERETT DIRKSEN in recent years, and I shall never forget them. We did not talk about the weighty problems that faced the State or the Nation. For the most part we talked about purely personal things, reminiscences of political happenings that had occurred to either one of us, and the good fun things that really make up life. To have had this opportunity is something which I feel has come to very few people, and I shall always cherish it.

My relationship with Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, therefore, was not as a colleague in this great legislative body, but rather that of a young man, coming along in politics, sitting at the knee of the master teacher. I listened closely to what he had to say. I have tried to learn from his wisdom accumulated over the years. While I do not in any wise suggest that I or anyone else shall ever be another EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in this body, or otherwise, you may be sure that we in Illinois revere him and will miss him, as one of the great bulwarks of our American democracy, and one of the greatest contributions of the State of Illinois to the Government of the United States throughout our entire history.

And so, while we shall always remember him together as politician, statesman, patriot, and all the other things which made him great, my memory of EVERETT DIRKSEN will be that of a true and dear friend.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND*

### OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, the late and beloved EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was my friend and I shall ever miss him. When I came to the Senate in 1946 he was a Member of the House of Representatives. I was fond of him and our friendship became even closer after he came to the Senate where he soon became the Republican whip and still later, the Republican leader. My visits to his office in the Capitol—sometimes on Senate business and sometimes to participate in doing him honor—will all be remembered and cherished by me. Our visits to his home in nearby Virginia were also colorful incidents to be always recalled with great pleasure by both Mrs. Holland and me.

There is much I could say about his various activities, some of which I have already said during Senate debates and which already appears in the Congressional Record. Our service in World War 1 was closely related, though we were not then acquainted. We spoke often of those days. But since he maintained his winter home at DeBary in my own native State of Florida and took many occasions to show his friendship for our State, I prefer to confine my remarks largely to the complimentary editorials appearing about him in the press of my State immediately after his death. Whether liberal, moderate or conservative, whether Democratic, Republican or Independent, whether serving the public in the Gold Coast area, in the Tampa Bay region, at Cape Kennedy, in the conservative Gateway City of Jacksonville, or in the typically southern panhandle cities of Panama City and Pensacola, these editorials, although written by able men of greatly differing philosophies, all express the sorrow felt by our entire State when we lost our friend and winter visitor, the late Senator DIRKSEN.

I purposely left out the central Florida area in the list which I have just named because it was there he maintained his winter home and was best known and most beloved. I ask unanimous consent first, therefore, that there be printed in the Record an editorial from the Orlando Sentinel of September 9 entitled "Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN."

(See exhibit 1, p. 47.)

Mr. President, in a similar vein, the evening paper in Orlando, the Evening Star, of September 10, included the editorial "DIRKSEN Was Great American," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in full at the conclusion of my statement.

(See exhibit 2, p. 48.)

Mr. President, one of the most interesting paragraphs in the editorial of the Evening Star is the one in which Senator DIRKSEN is compared with President Abraham Lincoln, which reads as follows:

> It is interesting that he served in the House from the same area as did President Lincoln. They were both able and convincing speakers, although their styles were as different as were their personalities. They both had wit and good humor, but Lincoln had a simple eloquence while Senator DIRKSEN's was a flowery, ornate eloquence rarely equaled in American political history.

From my own town of Bartow, Fla., the county seat of Polk County—a part of central Florida—there appeared in the September 8 edition of the Polk County Democrat an editorial entitled "A Man For All The Country." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in full as part of my statement.

(See exhibit 3, p. 49.)

Mr. President, I quote the following paragraph from the editorial:

> His fame as an orator, a wit and a statesman will linger long in the Senate cloakroom and in the Capitol pressroom, and will outlast the coming and going of many a senator who has yet to be elected.

From the Miami Herald, the conservative paper in Miami, there appeared on September 9 the editorial "Ev Dirksen, Individualist," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in my remarks in full.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 4, p. 50.)

Mr. President, one of the more interesting paragraphs in that editorial was this quotation:

> He was a leader, a patriot loyal to the ideals of his country as he saw them; both a controversial and popular figure in Washington. He crossed from one line to the other, supporting Democrats, occasionally opposing Republicans, loyal to the cause of the moment. "I live by my principles," he once said, "and the first of these is flexibility."

In the Miami News, the liberal paper in Miami, there appeared on September 9 the editorial "Senator Dirksen's Contributions," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the end of my remarks.

(See exhibit 5, p. 50.)

Mr. President, I quote the closing paragraph of that editorial as follows:

> He was a humorist, a philosopher, could be a "corn ball" when the occasion demanded, was unmatched as an orator. Senator Dirksen was an outstanding leader, enjoying the confidence of all those around him. He was adaptable to the changing times and successful because he knew his country came before his politics.

In the Palm Beach Times of September 9 there appeared an editorial entitled "Dirksen Fought the Good Fight," and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in full in my remarks.

(See exhibit 6, p. 51.)

Mr. President, in the newspaper Today, published at Cape Kennedy, on September 9 appeared the editorial "Everett Dirksen." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in full as a part of my statement.

(See exhibit 7, p. 52.)

Mr. President, I read the following paragraph from the editorial:

> But he was not all things to all people, nor did he try to be. He worried that the young people of today seem to be turning their backs on their

American heritage. Rather than sanctioning their prodigal discontent, he sought to bring them "back into the stream of tradition."

In the Florida Times-Union at Jacksonville which had highly praised Senator DIRKSEN in its news and editorial columns when he delivered a great speech there not long before his death, entitled "What's Right with America" to a wildly enthusiastic, overflow meeting of the State Chamber of Commerce, appeared on September 10 the editorial "EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN," which I ask unanimous consent to have included in full in my remarks.

(See exhibit 8, p. 52.)

Mr. President, I shall quote the following two paragraphs from the editorial:

> He provided a balance to the Congress and had the stature not only to himself rise above the level of pure partisanship but to pull many of his colleagues above that level as well.
>
> "The heart of America is right," he said in his 1967 speech in Jacksonville. And the heart of EVERETT DIRKSEN was right. The nation that he loved and served will miss him.

From the Tampa Bay area there appeared in the St. Petersburg Times of September 8 an editorial entitled "DIRKSEN's Sense of the Senate," which I ask unanimous consent be printed in full in my remarks.

(See exhibit 9, p. 53.)

Mr. President, this paper, a liberal one, seeking for a quotation which best fitted Senator DIRKSEN, came up with the following words from Thomas Carlyle:

> In the long run every Government is the exact symbol of its people, with their wisdom and unwisdom.

They followed this Carlyle quotation with the following:

> Sen. DIRKSEN was Government because he was good at it, and because his own balance of wisdom and unwisdom made him supremely human.

From the Panhandle of Florida I noted in the Pensacola Journal an able editorial entitled "A Loss to the Senate," appearing on September 9, which I ask to have copied in my remarks in full.

(See exhibit 10, p. 54.)

Mr. President, I shall read the closing paragraph of that editorial as follows:

There are not many in Congress who can rate the title of statesmen. Even his enemies agreed that DIRKSEN rated it. He will be missed as only positive leadership can be missed.

In the Panama City Herald—also in the Florida Panhandle—there appeared the editorial "DIRKSEN Among Greats," which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record in full.

(See exhibit 11, p. 55.)

Mr. President, there were many other editorials in Florida papers well worthy of preservation but I wanted in my own remarks to illustrate the fact that from all segments of the press in Florida, regardless of geography, philosophy, or other regional difference there appeared unanimous expressions of affection, respect, and sorrow for Senator DIRKSEN. In other words, I wanted the Record to show that the press of Florida, which is surely a cosmopolitan State, voiced feelings of deep appreciation for EVERETT DIRKSEN which I think spoke rather clearly for all segments of American thinking. He was a great statesman, an effective legislator, a warm and loyal friend and one who will be greatly missed always by every Senator and Congressman who served with him and who knew him.

Mrs. Holland and I express our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and their daughter, Mrs. Baker, to Senator Baker and the Baker children, along with our hope that they may find comfort in their sorrow from the expressions of appreciation of Senator DIRKSEN which have been voiced by every segment of America.

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(EXHIBIT 1)

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, Sept. 9, 1969]

### SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

There was no one like Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

With his full head of wavy, graying hair, his rich oratorical voice, his gestures and the poses he struck to make a point, he was the most colorful member of an often somber Congress.

Ev DIRKSEN was the last of a vanished breed of old-time senators who looked and acted as we think senators should look and act.

He was a spell-binder, a natural orator with a voice so compelling that in the past few years he was persuaded to cut a few records. Their sales were excellent.

Among the things which made DIRKSEN unique, in addition to his being the last of the old mold, was that he regarded the Senate as an end, an entity in itself.

He felt the Senate was a high calling, which it is, and that there was no need to try to go on to be president or vice president.

He worked hard at being a senator, a senator from the old days of the body, but he kept the common touch. Even those who had never met him felt friendly and warm toward him. They felt he was someone they knew and liked.

In his handling of legislation, Sen. DIRKSEN always acted in what he considered was the best interest of the nation. His decisions transcended parties and politics. When he felt he was right he headed straight for that goal disregarding political ties within his own party.

There was only one like Ev DIRKSEN. He served his country and his world well. His deaths ends an era and impoverishes all of us.

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(EXHIBIT 2)

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Evening Star, Sept. 10, 1969]

## DIRKSEN WAS A GREAT AMERICAN

There'll never be another Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. His was a personality and a character all his own. To put it tritely, he was a senator's senator. He was a happy cross between an able actor and an understanding statesman.

While EVERETT DIRKSEN was one of the most powerful Republican senators to serve in this century, he was an American first, an avid patriot before being an astute and powerful politician.

He was first elected to Congress in 1926, chosen to serve in the House from the same area as that served by Abraham Lincoln. In 1950 he was elected to the Senate and served in that august body until his death on Sunday.

It is interesting that he served in the House from the same area as did President Lincoln. They were both able and convincing speakers, although their styles were as different as were their personalities. They both had wit and good humor, but Lincoln had a simple eloquence while Senator DIRKSEN'S was a flowery, orate eloquence rarely equaled in American political history.

His style was a pleasing throwback to the 19th century. He was an orator who stood out in an era of direct matter-of-fact speech making. His effectiveness was that of a sincere man. His tousled hair, his open smile, and his bass organ-tone voice were his distinguishing characteristics. He had charisma before that word was overworked. He had integrity when that virtue was not overworked. He was a grand Republican and a great American of whom Abraham Lincoln would have been proud.

(EXHIBIT 3)

[From the Polk County Democrat, Sept. 8, 1969]

### A MAN FOR ALL THE COUNTRY

One of the dependably sane voices in an often frenzied Congress was that of Sen. EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Blessed with a set of vocal cords and a method of delivery that commanded instant and undivided attention, the gentleman from Pekin, Ill., was showman enough to make shrewd use of his assets, and to augment them with a carefully unkempt head of hair.

With the theatrics that quickly made him a national figure, Senator DIRKSEN had a canny sense of what was good for the country, and he fought with great skill for the causes in which he believed.

Whether he was aiding in a filibuster or fighting one, he was an adversary to respect, an ally to cherish.

No one is perfect, and even Senator DIRKSEN slipped occasionally. As, for instance, when he gave full support to his friendly enemy, President Lyndon Johnson, in endorsing Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

What mistakes he did make, though, seemed to be errors on the side of too much charity for individuals who perhaps were not worthy of it. In matters of principle he was true to his convictions, no matter who agreed or disagreed.

He was not as far to the right as Barry Goldwater, whom he enthusiastically nominated for the presidency, nor as far to the left as Lyndon Johnson, with whom he enjoyed a warm friendship.

Sometimes Senator DIRKSEN angered the conservatives, as when he supported several Civil Rights laws—on the basis that they demanded fair treatment of a segment of the population which was not being treated fairly. Sometimes he angered the liberals, as when he supported extending to all states the assignment of federal monitors to watch voting, as previously had been ordered in Southern states—on the basis that what is fair in one section of the country is fair in all the country.

When the Democrats held the White House, DIRKSEN was the rallying point for the Republican opposition, and for Democratic senators who disagreed with the President. With a Republican administration, DIRKSEN was "the man to see," and a staunch supporter of his chief.

Illness had slowed the old war horse in recent months, and yesterday it stopped him completely.

His fame as an orator, a wit and a statesman will linger long in the Senate cloakroom and in the Capitol pressroom, and will outlast the coming and going of many a senator who has yet to be elected.

(EXHIBIT 4)

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 9, 1969]

### EV DIRKSEN, INDIVIDUALIST

"The marigold will flourish on soil not blessed with fertility. It marches through spring, summer and autumn, until the frost of early winter takes its toll . . . robust, rugged, bright, stately, single-colored and multi-colored, somehow able to resist the onslaught of insects . . . What a flower the marigold is."

When Sen. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN waxed rhetorically rhapsodical, as he once did while advocating the marigold be named America's national flower, the soft notes curled through the Senate fresh and pungent as woodsmoke and the hard ones sounded with such timbre that senators awoke and rafters rattled.

What a speaker the senator was! The language was his as though on tap, and he twisted the faucet both to illuminate and obfuscate, as it suited the purposes of him and the Republican Party.

The great head with its wild gray hair, the well-traveled face with bags under eyes covered by thick glasses, the political finesse and the sense of humor so rich it almost seemed sinful, are gone and so a historic gem in America's infinite variety blinks out.

He was a leader, a patriot loyal to the ideals of his country as he saw them, both a controversial and popular figure in Washington. He crossed from one line to the other, supporting Democrats, occasionally opposing Republicans, loyal to the cause of the moment. "I live by my principles," he once said, "and the first of these is flexibility."

Sen. DIRKSEN was an individualist in an impersonal age. During his 35 years in Congress, he became the legendary loquacious senator, who in time assumed a caricature of himself and joined the nation in chuckling at Sen. DIRKSEN.

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(EXHIBIT 5)

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Sept. 9, 1969]

### SENATOR DIRKSEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was an eloquent member of the U.S. Senate who will long be remembered for his voluble contributions to the social issues of the day.

The Illinois senator began his leadership of the august Senate when Dwight Eisenhower was President but found his niche in history as the persuasive helper of a Democratic President. Senator DIRKSEN was a tower of strength for Lyndon Johnson during the stormy passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. His stentorian tones and flowery phrases were more than a match for the Southerners who tried to filibuster against legislation for human rights.

In the nine months that Richard Nixon has been in the White House, Senator DIRKSEN was a powerful confidante, swaying the Chief Executive on important appointments and at same time acting out the role of the Minority Leader in a Democratic Congress.

He was a humorist, a philosopher, could be a "corn ball" when the occasion demanded, was unmatched as an orator. Senator DIRKSEN was an outstanding leader, enjoying the confidence of all those around him. He was adaptable to the changing times and successful because he knew his country came before his politics.

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(EXHIBIT 6)

[From the Palm Beach (Fla.) Times, Sept. 9, 1969]

## DIRKSEN FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT

One of the greats is gone.

The passing of Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN leaves a void on the political scene that never will be filled.

Call him a politician. Call him "the Wizard of Ooze." Call him a "wheeler-dealer."

But—first, last and always—call him an American.

For the colorful Illinois statesman, as President Nixon says, "on the great issues always placed the nation first."

But for the accidents of history, DIRKSEN might have been President of the United States. And if he had been, history might have been painted in less somber hues. That is pure speculation, of course, but it must be admitted that there have been times when the nation seemed to play second fiddle to political expediency.

Nevertheless, Sen. DIRKSEN did play a major role in history as it is written, especially as leader of the "loyal opposition" during the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. He will be particularly remembered for carrying to passage the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

He will be remembered, too, as a man whose deep insight and involvement in the grave issues of our time did not dull a delightful sense of humor. This is a mark of greatness—perspective—that is becoming increasingly rare in government.

The nation, not just those who honored him as "Mr. Republican," owe Sen. DIRKSEN a debt of gratitude that can be repaid only by rededication to the principles of real Americanism for which he fought the good fight.

(EXHIBIT 7)

[From Today (Fla.), Sept. 9, 1969]

### EVERETT DIRKSEN

Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN wasn't ashamed to change his convictions in response to the realities of the swift and everchanging times.

This is not what made him a statesman, but without the ability to see that government must move forward, coming constantly to new grips with the changing problem of its people, DIRKSEN could not have become the statesman he was.

He called himself "an old-fashioned garden variety of Republican who believes in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, in Abraham Lincoln . . ."

But he went a step further.

His kind of Republican, he said, "accepts the challenges as they arise from time to time, and who is not unappreciative of the fact that this is a dynamic economy in which we live, and sometimes you have to change your position.

His kind of Republican was a credit to Republicans and Democrats alike.

Originally an isolationist, DIRKSEN became an internationalist. Originally a conservative, he moved to the center with his support of civil rights legislation, the nuclear treaty and financing for the United Nations.

But he was not all things to all people, nor did he try to be. He worried that the young people of today seem to be turning their backs on their American heritage. Rather than sanctioning their prodigal discontent, he sought to bring them "back into the stream of tradition."

Whether you agreed with what he said or not, you had to admire him for the way he said it. He was a colorful man who conformed neither to the Republican image nor to the congressional image.

Among his colleagues, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a marigold in a field of soybeans.

* * *

(EXHIBIT 8)

[From the Florida Times-Union, Sept. 10, 1969]

### EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN had a commitment so deep that it transcended all personal or political considerations of his public service. He had an abiding love for, and a sense of the continuity of, the United States of America.

Often he spoke, as he once did in Jacksonville, on the topic "What's Right with America." When he voted, the guiding principle was "What's Right for America."

It was this characteristic that enabled the late Senator from Illinois to be a statesman as well as a consummate politician. The most partisan of his own supporters and colleagues after a time came to realize that where the interests of the nation were at stake, DIRKSEN would be found on the side of what he believed to be the best interest—regardless of whether this side had been labeled conservative or liberal, Democrat or Republican.

Once assailed on this point, he explained his philosophy in this way:

"You start from the broad premise that all of us have a common duty to the country to perform. Legislation is always the art of the possible. You could, of course, follow a course of solid opposition, of stalemate, but that is not in the interest of the country."

There have been many issues arising during Senator DIRKSEN's 25 years of service in Congress when it was essential to distinguish between a Republican President or a Democratic President and the President of the United States. Even while he was Minority Leader—for most of this time, therefore, the leader of the opposition—Senator DIRKSEN was able to make this distinction.

It is to the credit of most of his colleagues and of the American people as a whole that this quality was recognized to the extent that he exerted a great influence on both legislation and upon public opinion.

Roger Winship Stuart, in his 1963 book entitled "Meet the Senators," started the biographical passage on Senator DIRKSEN with the sentence: "Every so often in the Senate—just as at sporadic intervals among other groups—a particular member will come to be recognized as something apart, something in the nature of the institution."

The "institution," indeed the walking legend that was Senator DIRKSEN, was founded on deeper characteristics than the flowing locks, the famous voice and the courtly speech that enabled him to rebuke a senator who spoke too much by saying he would invoke upon the offender "every condign imprecation."

It was built upon a record of hard work, effectiveness and above all that deep and abiding love for America.

He provided a balance to the Congress and had the stature not only to himself rise above the level of pure partisanship but to pull many of his colleagues above that level as well.

"The heart of America is right," he said in the 1967 speech in Jacksonville. And the heart of EVERETT DIRKSEN was right. The nation that he loved and served will miss him.

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(EXHIBIT 9)

[From the St. Petersburg Times, Sept. 8, 1969]

## DIRKSEN'S SENSE OF THE SENATE

In the fullest sense of its traditions and respect for individual style, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a prototype member of the United States Senate.

It was possible to strain against his actions and philosophies and yet greatly admire the man.

Because DIRKSEN so personified a senator, and played his role with such unabashed flourish, the Senate will have lost one of its principal actors—as well as its minority leader.

For the Republican Party the loss opens many questions.

Who will rise to the stature and power of an EVERETT DIRKSEN?

Does the passing of this old-fashioned politician mean room for a modernist?

What change in leadership tactics and relationship between party and President now will emerge?

For the Senate, the death of DIRKSEN expands the power vacuum begun by Sen. Edward Kennedy's summer of misfortune.

With so much on its mind that affects the nation's core, this vacuum in legislative leadership could blur the sense of direction in the Senate.

But while political strategists ponder a future without the man who has been so present for two decades of America's most changing years, the people will remember EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's life for what it was. And how it ended as the summer ended.

It is difficult to sum up such a life. Or to find a quotation that fits a man who was himself such a quotable source.

Perhaps Thomas Carlyle comes close:

"In the long run every Government is the exact symbol of its people, with their wisdom and unwisdom."

Sen. DIRKSEN was Government because he was good at it, and because his own balance of wisdom and unwisdom made him supremely human.

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(EXHIBIT 10)

[From the Pensacola (Fla.) Journal, Sept. 9, 1969]

## A LOSS TO THE SENATE

The Senate has lost, through the death of Sen. EVERETT DIRKSEN, one of its most colorful and powerful figures in a generation.

While the Illinois Republican was a staunch party leader who held it together during the grim days when the Democrats controlled two-thirds of the Senate seats, he was more than that. He was a bipartisan power who never hesitated to follow his own conscience in matters affecting the country.

Consequently he was a confidant of presidents both Democrat and Republican. Without DIRKSEN many of the accomplishments of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson would not have been possible. Eisenhower found him a bulwark of strength and until his death he had shaped much of the course taken by President Nixon, sometimes changing it as he did in a confrontation with Secretary Finch of HEW over the assistant secretaryship.

DIRKSEN was a basso profundo orator of the old school, a talent he loved to display as the occasion arose. Indeed, it was this skill in dramatic debate which led his enemies to refer to the veteran from Illinois as the "wizard of ooze."

Senator DIRKSEN never hesitated to voice displeasure at things politic if he felt they were wrong. It mattered little whether the toes he mashed were Democratic or Republican. It was the principle of the thing, and because of his prestige and power he generally got his way.

For 37 years—except for 2 years when he retired because of failing eyesight—DIRKSEN had served in Congress, 19 of them in the Senate. He was Republican leader during the last 10 years. Few minority leaders have exercised such influence. DIRKSEN did it through his reputation for fairness and cooperation on measures beneficial to the country.

There are not many in Congress who can rate the title of statesman. Even his enemies agreed that DIRKSEN rated it. He will be missed as only positive leadership can be missed.

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(EXHIBIT 11)

[From the Panama City (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 16, 1969]

### DIRKSEN AMONG GREATS

About the only things that EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN and Ho Chi Minh had in common were that both were outstanding figures in their respective governments and both died within a week of each other.

It is not their similarities but their differences that we ought to think about.

Because of his role in freeing his country of French colonial rule, Ho was called the George Washington of Vietnam and was lavishly praised by most of the American press at his death. Such praise was perhaps his due as a tough opponent.

Actually, it was DIRKSEN who more resembled Washington.

To say this is by no means outrageous eulogizing of DIRKSEN. All the men who have held seats of power in the U.S. Government since its beginning have been, almost without exception, closer in character to Washington than was Ho Chi Minh.

A man like DIRKSEN—outspoken, individualistic, flamboyant—could not have survived under a Communist regime. Indeed, one can only speculate as to how many Vietnamese DIRKSENS were liquidated over the years by Ho, who could not tolerate rivalry.

Unfortunately, the same can also be said of South Vietnam. There, banishment and imprisonment have effectively prevented the establishment of a loyal opposition.

DIRKSEN, like Ho, served his country over a span of time measured in decades—three and a half decades altogether; 16 years in the House and 19 in the Senate.

The crucial distinction is that at all times DIRKSEN was accountable to the people of his state of Illinois for his performance and at regular intervals was subject to removal from office by them.

The comparison need not be elaborated. Suffice it to say that when we honor a man like EVERETT DIRKSEN, we also honor the political system, the ideology, which produced him and which will produce other men worthy to follow in his footsteps.

That is the American system, and it works because men like DIRKSEN make it work.

DIRKSEN once told a reporter that his early ambition had been to be an actor—"a thespian treading the boards," was how he put it in his characteristically flowery fashion.

He certainly had the voice for it, and the stage presence and sense of the dramatic. But his mother, he explained, persuaded him against such a "sinful" profession. So, he said, he chose the next best thing—politics.

We err seriously, however, if we allow the cornpone facets of DIRKSEN's personality to obscure the real man. He, too, was a tough opponent, as several presidents came to learn quite well.

Often he appeared bullheaded, jealous of his prerogatives, more concerned with political expedience than with progressive legislation.

But he played by the rules, and when it came down to a question of fundamental principles, he was truly a leader of stature.

EVERETT DIRKSEN has now taken a place in the pantheon of other great senators—Webster, Clay Taft (the list is a long one).

This is no sentimental twaddle. It is a fact, about which all Americans can be proud.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH*

### OF MAINE

Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve both in the House of Representatives and the Senate with the late EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. He was a great leader in both of these divisions of Congress.

He was a great leader not just because he was a dynamic leader of his political party. Instead he was more a leader because he had the courage to change his course of action and to change his mind once he became convinced that he was wrong.

In 1952, at the Republican National Convention, in a stirring speech supporting the late Robert A. Taft, and in opposing the late

Dwight D. Eisenhower, he protested that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, in leading the fight for the nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower, was leading the Republican Party down the road to a third successive presidential defeat.

But he was wrong, as time proved—and he unhesitatingly acknowledged that he was wrong and he turned his efforts to becoming one of the strongest supporters that President Eisenhower had in the Senate.

Yes, he was one of the Senate towers of strength for all Presidents from that time on—whether it was Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, or Richard M. Nixon.

He was a tower of strength because he gave them crucial support at crucial times—support that rose above partisanship.

But he was, as well, a tower of strength because he opposed them when he was convinced they were wrong and in many instances his opposition forced them to a more reasonable compromise on issues.

Only this year, he opposed President Nixon on some nominations and selections for major offices. President Nixon responded by withdrawing the nominations or refraining from making the nominations.

And in his mellifluous way of opposing President Nixon's choices for high office, he had a knack of doing it without being accused of party disloyalty or disloyalty to his President in his position as the leader of the President's political party in the Senate.

Not all Senate Republican leaders have been able to achieve such a remarkable result of respect rather than condemnation.

Yet, I think I have some insight as to this rare ability that EVERETT DIRKSEN had. For the last time that he talked with me was on the Senate floor after I had proposed two amendments in opposition to the President's Safeguard ABM.

Although he differed with me on that issue and stood with the President, he was kind enough to come over to my desk and expressed his admiration for what I had said in support of the amendments and for what I had done. I shall never forget the very last words he spoke to me for he said to me:

> Margaret, you rose above the crowd and you stood ten feet tall on the Senate floor today.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN and I engaged in a keen but friendly fight over the proposal for the national flower. He championed the marigold. I championed the rose.

Since his untimely passing, I have had many letters urging me to take his place in carrying the banner for the marigold. I am honored that some would think that I could take his place in that one instance. I am even more grateful that they understand when I defer to someone else as his successor on this because I know he would not have me desert the rose anymore than I would have him desert the marigold.

Many have urged me to take the leadership on his prayer resolution. While I support it now as I always have, such leadership is more properly for one of his close colleagues on the Senate Judiciary Committee to which the DIRKSEN prayer resolution has been assigned for consideration and action.

Far more eloquent than anything I might be capable of saying is a letter to EVERETT DIRKSEN's devoted wife and his own tower of strength—Louella Dirksen, for whom all of us have so much affection, respect, and admiration. It was a letter from Maurice James Moriarity of Chicago, Ill.

On September 9, 1969, Mr. Moriarity wrote Mrs. Dirksen:

> As the Nation mourns the passing of Senator DIRKSEN, I recognize that nothing I could say would ease your sorrow. Although the Senator had thousands of friends and acquaintances throughout the world, I doubt that he ever had a more loyal or dedicated supporter than my late father. I shared in my father's respect and admiration for the Senator. We knew him and loved him as a truly great American.
>
> On September 11, 1968, a little more than a year ago, the Senator wrote a beautiful letter of condolence to the parents of one of my partners. The occasion was the death of their youngest son while in combat in Vietnam. I thought you might be interested in one of the paragraphs of that letter. The Senator concluded his letter by saying.
>
> Somewhere, sometime, death must come to us all, and fortunate is he who can cry quietus with "Well done" ringing in his ears from his country as well as his family and friends.
>
> Today, and for all time to come, the historians of this great Nation of ours will acclaim: "Well done, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, well done."
>
> With deepest condolences, I remain. Sincerely yours, Maurice James Moriarity.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH*

### OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I am privileged to join my colleagues this afternoon in expressing our remembrances of a truly great, a gallant, and a good American—Everett Dirksen.

It was a warm September sun that bathed the countryside when Everett Dirksen's body was given to the good earth near his birthplace in Pekin, Ill.

We know Illinois as the Land of Lincoln, but it truly is the Land of Dirksen as well. Perhaps it was not fully recorded, but it is a memory that I shall continue to carry all my years—that of the funeral party as it moved from the Peoria Airport to the cemetery on the outskirts of the community which was his home.

I remember hundreds of little children who stood beside the roads and on the streets holding in their hands the American flag. They held it proudly as the body of Everett Dirksen was carried by the thousands of neighbors and friends whom he served.

I saw literally hundreds and hundreds of fathers and mothers who also stood by those roadsides and on the streets, and they, too, held the American flag. They held it without embarrassment. They held it with great pride.

In front of the Limestone High School, I remember especially 600 or 700 students who were not moving about the yard, talking one with the other. They were standing in a solid line, and they were quiet and reverent as the body of Everett Dirksen passed.

I recall very well that in front of most of the residences the American flag had been raised, and this was true also of the businesses and industries in that area.

This was done out of respect for Everett Dirksen, but I also believe in doing it those thousands of Americans were thinking of Everett Dirksen as the symbol of an America which today is very much alive. Sometimes a death causes us to realize it continues to live—an America in which there are millions of persons who are not in the news headlines but are the good, solid stock of this country, who believe very much in what Everett Dirksen believed.

Mr. President, I have said that Illinois is the Land of Lincoln; and it is also the Land of Dirksen. It was Abraham Lincoln who said:

> The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. . . . We must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

On many occasions in the Congress of the United States I felt that EVERETT DIRKSEN, in a very real sense, was living out the admonition of an earlier Illinoisan—Abraham Lincoln.

He was not a man to be pushed around, but he was a man with whom one could counsel. He was a man who provided an opportunity, not reluctantly, for his colleagues, both Democrat and Republican, to discuss matters that came before us in this legislative body.

Mr. President, I was sworn in on March 4, 1933, as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, in company with EVERETT DIRKSEN. There are perhaps only four or five of us now in the Congress of the United States who were sworn in on that date, when we still had the so-called lameduck Congress. But from that day until the time of his going away, we were cherished friends—disagreeing very often in the votes cast here, understandably so, but we were very close, one to the other.

When it was my responsibility to be chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia in my early days in the House of Representatives, DIRKSEN was the ranking minority member of that committee. We worked cooperatively then on legislative programs and projects for the District of Columbia, and the people who lived here, having come from all sections of America.

Mr. President, I often said to EVERETT, as he walked back and forth in the center aisle, "Please pace yourself. Please take it a little easier. Please go lie down a few minutes." And always he replied with a quick smile, rather than with words of agreement.

There are many dedicated men in public life, and certainly EVERETT DIRKSEN was one of the best of these men who devote themselves to careers in public service. EVERETT DIRKSEN was cheerful of heart. This was a blessing to unnumbered persons, constituents and friends, who came in contact with him day by day, and people before whom he appeared as a persuasive speaker and ardent advocate.

I heard a bird at break of day
  Sing from the autumn trees
A song so mystical and calm,
  So full of certainties.

Mr. President, if Jennings Randolph is certain of any fact this afternoon, it is the certainty that Everett Dirksen was truly a man of the people, by the people, and for the people.

I continue to remember him as I did when he was in the hospital on the last occasion before his death. I wrote him a note in my own handwriting. I said, "Everett, hurry back. We need you here." He was ever needed in this body. He gave so completely of himself—the very best that was within him—that we must not forget this man whom I have called great, gallant, and good.

Mr. President, Mary, my wife, joins me in our continued thoughts to Everett Dirksen's widow Louella, his daughter, his son-in-law, their children, and all members of the family.

It is truly wonderful along life's way to meet those persons—and there are not so many as we would like—who become a part of our own lives. Everett Dirksen shared that understanding with me, and I with him.

Mr. President, I think sometimes we forget too soon those who had responsible positions in this body. It was Shakespeare who said ingratitude is the most reprehensible of vices.

It would do all of us well to ponder a few minutes, perhaps each day, about some colleague with whom we have served, about some kindness that has been expressed toward us, about some good deed that came into being.

Mr. President, during these eulogies, we have remembered in a special way—Everett Dirksen.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN*

### OF VERMONT

Mr. President, the usual remarks made at a time like this are hopelessly inadequate today. To properly speak of Everett Dirksen would require words beyond my ability to find.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a most unusual man and a most unusual Senator.

He was a champion of his State par excellence, but he was also a most beloved national figure. I have never known a person who was more beloved by the people of this country, regardless of race, creed, color, or region; and we could hear, almost anywhere he was speaking, members of the audience say, "Isn't he wonderful?"—even from those who might be disagreeing thoroughly with the position which he might be expounding at the time.

He had utmost consideration for others. As a party leader, he was eminently fair, treating all alike. His ability to cooperate with the leadership of the party across the aisle was a bulwark of strength to the President and to the country in time of crisis.

Whenever he spoke, his mixture of humor, hard facts, and philosophy were particularly effective.

To honor his memory, I am almost—but not quite—persuaded to support his favorite flower, the marigold, as a national flower. I am sure he would not want me to compromise the position which I have held for so long; nevertheless I am almost tempted.

We will not forget EV DIRKSEN. It is my profound hope that the lovely Louella Dirksen will not forget us, but will continue to honor us with her presence for many years to come.

Admittedly, the words I have spoken are inadequate, but as time goes on, we will always think wistfully of EVERETT DIRKSEN—loyal, tolerant, kind, and true.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. RUSSELL B. LONG*

### OF LOUISIANA

Mr. President, when one of the giants in this body passes, it leaves a great void, both physically in these halls and in the hearts of those who served with him. Those of us who served with EVERETT DIRKSEN will forever remember his eloquent voice in this Chamber, and his impassioned pleas for those things which he believed to be right and in the national interest. We recall him as a man of great courage who, even when the tide was running against him, would stand up and fight for what he believed in, even though, on some occasions, he knew it was impossible to prevail.

Perhaps above all, Everett Dirksen should be remembered for the great American that he was—a partisan, a Republican leader, who invariably had what it took to rise above partisanship for the good of his Nation. Under the administrations of Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy, and Harry Truman—all Presidents of another party—time and again, Everett Dirksen provided the leadership among those of his own party necessary to bring us together and achieve the majority to vote for matters of vital importance in terms of national survival, national defense, foreign policy, and even some of the most difficult areas of economic policy—for those things which were in the long-term interest of the Nation, though there might have been some short-term advantage in disunity.

He was one of the truly responsible leaders of this Nation—one who represented Illinois in an outstanding fashion, and yet at the same time could bring Senators from all States together to move ahead those things which an enlightened self-interest would dictate.

As the Senator from Illinois has mentioned, he did serve on the Finance Committee for a number of years. He gave up much seniority on one of his previously assigned committees to go there. It was my great privilege to serve with him, and to serve as chairman while he was a member of that committee. He made great contributions to the work of the committee. In many instances it was my pleasure to support very important bills and amendments that he offered, having to do with taxes and with monetary and fiscal stability of our country. I believe that in most instances I was privileged to vote in support of the things he advocated.

All of us will long miss him. I know that many of us on this side of the aisle feel fully as much devoted to his memory, as a man and as a Senator, as our friends on the other side. This is one of those losses that will never be forgotten. He will always be a part of us, and we shall always remember him.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA*

## OF NEBRASKA

Mr. President, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will long be remembered by those with whom he served, and by all in our land who take our governmental processes seriously; and most especially by those who were privileged to study, watch, and survey his talents in the national affairs of our times. Certainly, as the next ranking member of the minority in the Committee on the Judiciary to our late leader, I was in a position, on that committee, to study, watch, and be taught much by this very fine Senator.

He experienced through immigrant parents the appreciation of a land where possibilities were unlimited. He was fortunate in being born near the center of our Nation in a rural environment where initiative and hard work were complemented by both failures and successes, and to parents who had faith in man's abilities through Divine guidance. Oftentimes he mentioned his "saintly" mother, whose wisdom and examples patterned his philosophy of life.

As a leader, I believe time will place him among the greatest. He was appreciated and admired by those with whom he lived and worked, especially because of his own infallible determination to meet whatever challenge was presented. His country came before self or political party, and his ability to study and fully comprehend a matter or situation was extraordinary. The respect that was shown by his fellowmen at the time of his death, during the week of September 7, 1969, is concrete evidence of his stature as a U.S. Senator. At the memorial service held in the rotunda of the Capitol, our President memorialized him succinctly when he said:

> EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was one of a kind—and a remarkably likeable man. To politics and governments he brought a dedication matched by few and a style and eloquence matched by no political leader in our time . . . I mourn the loss of this great American—a legislator of matchless skills, and my warm personal friend since my first days in the Congress 22 years ago.

So spoke President Nixon.

These are the qualities that made him a real statesman, one of the giants in American history.

In a lighter vein, we remember his wit and humor and homespun simplicity. His zest for life was ever present and his love for nature from which he drew untold vitality and rest sustained him through the years. He could equally master the "Halls of Congress" and the simple life at his home in Pekin and at his beloved Broad Run Farm.

Woven into his rhetorical gems of wisdom and knowledge were witty and colorful words and stories only he could master and make effective. He could describe his gardens with each plant and each flower making an artist's picture unfold before his listener's eyes and he could provide a pun with equal effectiveness. One often quoted was "The oil can is mightier than a sword." He was convinced he had a place to fill in life and it was his duty to fill it. He filled it—working diligently and prodigiously—not taking himself seriously but taking his responsibilities seriously.

On the seventh anniversary of President Eisenhower's inauguration, Senator DIRKSEN on this floor eloquently phrased his own treatise on life:

> I have often said that, in my judgment, there is a quiet, brooding destiny that looks after the affairs of men and nations. I have puzzled hundreds of times how one could account for the fact that Abraham Lincoln came on the American scene when he did and make his exit when he did, if it were not the unfolding of the Divine pattern of history.
>
> I feel that way, too, about the distinguished occupant of the White House, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Do not we all agree that the name of our friend and colleague, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, should be added to that list of distinguished Americans?

Mr. President, this Nation has seen trying times in the past 200 years. The current times are such, with the war in Vietnam, the international scene generally, the many domestic problems, the social unrest, our cities with their many problems, and so on. From Carl Sandburg's "Remembrance Rock," these lines are in point:

> Long before this time of ours, America saw the faces of her men and women torn and shaken in turmoil, chaos and storm. In each major crisis you could have seen despair written on the faces of the foremost strugglers. Yet there always rose enough of reserves of strength, balances of sanity, portions of wisdom, to carry the nation through to a fresh start with an ever-renewing vitality.

Mr. President, I like to think of Senator DIRKSEN that on many occasions in his lifetime, and on a national scale, he was one of those "foremost strugglers," the source and the person who often brought forth those "reserves of strength, balances of sanity, and portions of wisdom" of which Sandburg wrote.

He had a sense and appreciation for history. He knew of its origins, its thread, and its thrust. He was aware that in a real sense there is no such thing as death of thought or energy. The will and vision that motivated people in colonial times and in the Republic's founding years have not disappeared. They have moved on, alive and strong, to other episodes of our history. They are still with us.

And one of the most forceful transmitters of that energy and that life of our Nation was our recently departed minority leader.

It was Sandburg, too, who wrote:

> For we know that when a nation goes down and never comes back, when a society or a civilization perishes, one condition can always be found. They forgot where they came from. They lost sight of what brought them along.

Again, one of those who always articulated so well on this point was Senator DIRKSEN. He always knew the importance of letting those who now shape the future know where the present times came from and what they are worth as a heritage.

For that he should ever be remembered. For that we should ever be grateful.

Our tributes are many to the man himself. But none should finish without a special tribute to his family—his daughter, Joy, and her husband, Howard, and their two children, and especially to the one who stood beside him for over 40 years.

Louella Dirksen was not only his devoted mate, but she also shared many of his unique qualities of rising in gracious fashion to the top through the simple and proven values that make life worthwhile.

I believe that those thousands of homefolks who stood along the highways between Peoria and the Pekin burial ground paying their last tribute to their native son were also paying tribute to Mrs. Dirksen and telling her they also loved and honored her for the contributions she also had made in their behalf.

May God give her good health and all of the needed strength and courage for days ahead.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA*

### OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, an institution in American politics for almost four decades, now belongs to the ages of human history.

Since 1932, EVERETT DIRKSEN's charm, his sonorous voice, his eloquent oratory, and his manner have enriched the Congress and the United States in so many subtle, yet important ways.

In the Congress, it is very important for a legislator to pay attention to detail, to return to his or her home State in order to communicate with his constituents. Equally important, and synonymous with EVERETT DIRKSEN, is possessing the quality of leadership. The distinguished Senator from Illinois was a great leader. One who through his own unique and special spirit became a symbol of the Senate—in style, in word, and in action. Who can deny that EVERETT DIRKSEN's passing is a great loss to the quality, the verve, the vitality of this great deliberative body? I am deeply grieved by our loss of a great leader, a great statesman, and a great American.

EVERETT DIRKSEN's oratorial abilities are legend. Perhaps one of his greatest moments came during the 100 days of debate in the Senate concerning the 1964 Civil Rights Act. I would like to quote a portion of his final Senate floor speech immediately prior to the historic Senate vote on June 19, 1964. His thoughts serve well to illustrate the quality of the man who was among us.

Referring to the reason why he had become a crusader in the cause of civil rights he said:

> I am involved in mankind, and whatever the skin, we are all involved in mankind. Equality of opportunity must prevail if we are to complete the covenant that we have made with the people, and when we held up our hands to take an oath to defend the laws and to carry out the Constitution of the United States.

He then quoted an English poet, who said:

> Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.

Relating the poet's thoughts to his own, EVERETT said:

> so every denial of freedom, every denial of equal opportunity for a livelihood, for an education, for a right to participate in representative government diminishes me.

Everett Dirksen on that historic day said the poet had "left what I believe was a precious legacy on the parchments of history."

U.S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, American, statesman, leader, poet, personality, and friend to use his own words, has left "a precious legacy on the parchments of American history."

He leaves behind his wife and daughter, relatives, and many close friends everywhere, but he also leaves with us a standard truly becoming only the greatest of Americans in our time. It is for future generations to preserve that standard and continue to pursue the unfinished tasks of the generation that has gone before. In this way Everett McKinley Dirksen lives on in American history, and in the history of the long human day of all mankind.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GORDON ALLOTT*

### OF COLORADO

Mr. President—

> He speaks and the words emerge in a soft sepulchral baritone. They undulate in measured phrases, expire in breathless wisps. He fills his lungs and blows wordrings like smoke. The sentences curl upward. They chase each other around the room in dreamy images of Steamboat Gothic. Now he conjures moods of mirth, now of sorrow. He rolls his bright eyes heavenward. In funeral tones, he paraphrases the Bible . . . and church bells peal, "Motherhood," he whispers, and grown men weep, "The Flag," he bugles, and everybody salutes.

The above quotation is from a cover story in Time magazine of some years ago.

As we today pay tribute to the memory of Senator Dirksen, I am reminded of what author Edwin McDowell said about our late colleague a half decade ago:

> . . . If Dirksen had not existed, it would have been necessary for some imaginative writer to invent the euphonic orator whose florid phrases and resplendent responses have enabled him to become a Senate institution during his lifetime . . .

Both of these quotations really describe Dirksen, the actor upon the political stage; Dirksen, the man with an appropriate response to almost any question; DIRKSEN, the crusader for what he believed could be acceptable to the Senate—the sides of the senior Senator from Illinois which were well known to the American public.

I should like to mention briefly today, the sides of EVERETT DIRKSEN which were not so well known to the public.

When I came to the Senate nearly 15 years ago, Senator DIRKSEN had preceded me in the Congress by many years and had already been in the Senate for 4 years. While 4 years is not a long time, the Senator's role in national politics and his background in the House of Representatives made him an important figure in Republican senatorial activities.

We wasted no time in becoming friends. Through the years when he might need some assistance, or later when he became Republican leader and was needed, he always approached me as a friend and, as a friend, when I had to say "no" there were never any hard feelings, never any grudge, never any move to put me at a disadvantage because I could not support him.

It is in this way that one Senator can truly look upon another and say, "I trust him." EVERETT DIRKSEN was known to change his positions on occasions, but his colleagues always knew where he stood. He would inform us and unabashedly make public such a change. His word was good. I know of no finer compliment that can be paid to a legislator, particularly a Senator.

Ev DIRKSEN's sense of humor was well known. However, as most "public figures" people are never sure if an attribute such as a sense of humor is a "front" or is genuine. Having been through some tough battles with him, particularly on those early civil rights bills, I can assure anyone interested that even during tense and difficult hours, he kept his balance and most often he had something humorous, some interesting sidelight or observation, that helped to defuse a potentially explosive situation.

Again, Senator DIRKSEN's sense of the dramatic, particularly as reported by the press, sometimes hid the depth of his knowledge on a myriad of Government problems. What most of those who read and heard what he had to say did not know is that he had an almost encyclopedic knowledge of the Federal Government and its operations. Without notes, he could trace the history—and very accurately, I might add—of America's currency and financial involvements from the turn of the century. He could detail positions in relatively obscure Government agencies. His insight into the Government was virtually endless.

I can add little to the great tributes which will be paid to EVERETT DIRKSEN today. I can say that he is a man whose abilities and contributions will be greatly missed in the years ahead. I can also say how sorry I am that he will not be with us to see personally the fruition of his many accomplishments. My wife, Welda, and I share in the sorrow that his wife, Louella, his daughter, Joy, and the entire Dirksen family has known since his passing.

Upon the occasion of a crucial speech in the U.S. Senate, Senator DIRKSEN used the following quotation by John Donne, which has always been symbolic of him, to me:

> Any man's death diminishes me
> Because I am involved in mankind.

A little bit of America is gone now, but Ev DIRKSEN will long be remembered.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. VANCE HARTKE*

### OF INDIANA

Mr. President, 5 years ago, the English House of Commons set aside a day to pay homage to the achievements of Sir Winston Churchill. On that great occasion, Harold Macmillan declared:

> The life of the man whom we are honoring is unique. The oldest among us can recall nothing to compare with him, and the younger ones among you, however long you live, will never see the like again.

Today, as we make our final tribute to an extraordinary American parliamentarian, those words are singularly appropriate. Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN was a man of special quality, and this historic Chamber will never see his equal.

EVERETT DIRKSEN inspired the Members who served with him in the U.S. Senate with a robust understanding of the function of Government and the purpose of politics. During the 36 years that he served in Congress, his actions were motivated by the highest form of patriotism, which calls upon a man to love his country for what it ought to be.

The conduct of his senatorial responsibilities was graced by the mannerisms of a more flamboyant age, and they contributed to the appealing impression that he made upon those who knew him. Everett Dirksen was not one who believed that the human factor should be distilled from the practice of politics, and he was not embarrassed by the intrusion of emotion.

But the force of his personality should not obscure his unique accomplishments as a Senator. His bipartisanship was appreciated by President Kennedy and President Johnson; for without the assistance of Everett Dirksen, their legislative program would have remained deadlocked.

Everett Dirksen had the rare courage to question the validity of his convictions, for he was familiar with Emerson's observation that consistency is the "hobgoblin of little minds." He had the courage to change his mind, and for that courage the Nation was rewarded with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

From the life of Everett Dirksen we can learn a great deal, for his character exemplified the spirit of reconciliation and good will that this Nation needs so desperately today.

And I would add a final personal note. Everett Dirksen and I were from neighboring States, we faced many of the same constituent problems and concerns, and, more often than our differing party affiliations would suggest, we adopted common policy positions. But whether we agreed or disagreed on policy matters, we were always friends. And I shall miss his friendship as the Senate and the Nation miss his leadership.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY*

### OF VERMONT

Mr. President, with the passing of Senator Everett Dirksen, I lost one of my closest friends; the Senate and the Nation lost a pillar of strength and wisdom so desperately needed in these trying times.

A mighty voice has been silenced. A great man has been laid to rest. And, surely, his name will be enshrined with those whose virtues and patriotism he extolled in his dramatic recording "Gallant Men" because, he, too, was a gallant man.

Last July, Senator DIRKSEN accepted an invitation to speak in my State this month. Had he lived, we would have flown to Vermont together a week ago today. But this was not to be. Instead, we took EVERETT DIRKSEN home.

Pekin's mixture of sorrow and pride was all America's. A village in Vermont, a town in Kansas, or a city in California, each would have been proud to claim him. Indeed, he belonged to them and they to him. His heart belonged to all America.

EVERETT had a warm heart. He loved well and deeply. He loved his country and its diverse people. He saw this adversity at once as strength and reason for caution. He listened to the many voices of the people with a keen ear, and responded with a brilliant mind. Flexibility was his byword and compromise his forte.

In committee and cloak room, he delighted in the intricacies of lawmaking. He was a master legislative craftsman.

But his fondest realm was this Chamber, constantly moving, reasoning, wheedling, he wrung cohesion from contention and moved the land.

He was in a word a politician, an unrepentant politician, a great politician. He did not shirk the appellation but played the role to the hilt.

Intensely human, he could laugh at himself and make us laugh at ourselves. EVERETT reminded us to enjoy.

Never doubt that EVERETT DIRKSEN loved life. It seemed to love him too. He was enthralled by the beauty of the flower and the spoken word. He cultivated them as few could do. As raconteur, gardener, and orator, he brought us joy. The flowers continue to grow. His words still echo.

We took EVERETT DIRKSEN home not long ago. We did not leave him there. He remains with us and we with him. That is how it will stay. EVERETT would not have it any other way.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN C. STENNIS*

### OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, the sentiments expressed here about our late friend come from the hearts and minds of people, the membership here, who knew him mighty well. I shall not attempt to enumerate all the fine things about him.

I do want to mention one thing that was the greatest asset to the Senate. But first, we all enjoyed EVERETT's company. He was a good tonic most any time for most anyone. The people enjoyed him. As a fellow member of the Committee on Appropriations I found him to be a very knowledgeable man, particularly well versed in the problems of the times, the operation of the Government in its various departments, and the application of law that had already been tried out. I found him to be sound and accurate in predictions with respect to the application of a proposed bill and how it would work out. I found him to be a resourceful man all the way around to a very marked degree.

He would have been a great success as a practitioner of law. He would have been a great success in many different fields, but I believe his natural field was the one he chose, in the Congress of the United States, and more particularly after he became a Member of this body and then served as one of the leaders.

Over all the years I have been here, which is a few more years than he had been here, I believe that with everything considered in all the years he was here, he took an active and effective part in more legislation, perhaps, than any other man. A man who works a great deal on a committee touches many bills and some major bills, but on the floor of the Senate he had a major part in all major bills and in any small ones he might have chosen.

I believe the greatest thing to be said about his career is that he was a natural legislator. More than most of us, more than any other man or lady I have known here, he could really put the pieces of a measure together and then get a composite view of the thinking and ideas of the membership. In a very successful way, without trying to drive anybody, he could come up most frequently with a cross-section or composite view or whatever one may call it, representing a majority of the membership in a measure that was essentially sound in many of its major aspects.

He would not yield to the partisan approach—oh, some, of course, but primarily he would not yield to the partisan approach. I saw that tested many times. He would actually try to find what he thought was the best solution.

I was impressed, too, by the way in which he supported the present war, which is not a popular war. He never failed to fill in at the right place and the right time in support for any President, whether from his party or not.

I think in his natural legislative ability he rendered the greatest service to the Nation. Someone has used the word "flexibility" in connection with our late friend. Anyone who is effective—and I use that word in its best sense, as editorial writers do in a complimentary way—must have some kind of flexibility and compromise about him. This is not a one-way organization in either the House or the Senate.

I agree that one always knew where he stood. If he flexed or changed his position, he would do it out in the open and give his reasons for doing so. He was never deceitful in any way. After all, legislation is based on a great deal of give and take, and he knew how to find a way.

Many times other men who are very valuable here sometimes cannot find an approach to be effective.

He was a great asset in the Senate in the ways I have already mentioned. He was also an asset in that he gave the public a good impression and a good view, a good image, so to speak, of the Senate. The people liked him on television. They liked his approach. He was understood. He could make legislation understandable on television. He could make complicated problems much easier understood, and the people like that.

When he passed I said that in a way he always added to the stature of every Senator. He made us all look a little better because of his fine way with the people, in debate here, in his television appearances, and in his speaking. He left a good image of Senators and the institution benefited.

Mrs. Stennis and I have very high regard also for Mrs. Dirksen, who was a true companion. I remember how impressed I was after he had passed away and the funeral was over when she came out to the church the very next Sunday without any fanfare, without any show, but simply an honest, humble member of the vast congregation there. We also have high regard for their daughter Mrs. Baker, as far as we have had an opportunity to know her. She is certainly a splendid representative of that fine family.

Mrs. Stennis joins me in this expression of sympathy and condolence for all members of the family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. STROM THURMOND*

### OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, the passing of Everett McKinley Dirksen was a singular loss to the U.S. Senate as well as to the State of Illinois and the Nation. His voice is already missed in the councils of the President and the Congress. He was a unique leader in history, and he left a void not easily filled.

The distinguished senior Senator from Illinois had served as minority leader since 1959 and his wit, charm, effervescence, and gift for expression endeared him to friend and foe alike. Many a time he brought perspective back to a tense debate with a well-phrased sentence, poem, or quote from the great orators of history. He was one of the greatest orators of our time and wove a web of words that any young person could understand, and that any contemporary would heed. In my years in the Senate it is not possible to recall a Member whose delivery of the spoken word was more admired.

Mr. President, more important than his ability to speak well, Senator Dirksen understood the problems faced by our Nation. While we differed on some issues, I was particularly impressed with his deep sense of patriotism and his love of this Nation which he served so long and so well. As minority leader he dealt with the great issues of the day and considered each with exacting analysis to which he applied his sense of commitment to this country.

Above all, Senator Dirksen was a Christian gentleman. His devotion to the affairs of his church, and to Christian activities generally, fully measured up to the outstanding performance he gave to every worthwhile activity. His devotion to God was such that, as illness came upon illness, he was able to have the feeling he could face tomorrow unafraid.

Mr. President, I wish to extend my sympathy to his gracious and charming wife in whose companionship he had a strong partner to stand with him in stress as well as in victory. And, also to his daughter goes my heartfelt sympathy, and to his son-in-law, the distinguished junior Senator from Tennessee. Their loss is great, but the loss of our Nation is equally heavy.

Mr. President, the newspapers of South Carolina paid many handsome tributes to Senator DIRKSEN, and I ask unanimous consent that the following be printed in the Record.

Editorial in the Lancaster News of September 11, 1969, entitled "DIRKSEN's Death Leaves a National Void"; editorial in the Dillon Herald of September 11, 1969, entitled "Ev Brightened Landscape"; editorial in the Columbia Record of September 9, 1969, entitled "DIRKSEN Joins the Noble Dead"; editorial in the News & Courier of September 9, 1969, entitled "EVERETT DIRKSEN"; editorial in the Greenville News of September 8, 1969, entitled "EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN"; and editorial in the State of September 9, 1969, entitled "Senator From Illinois, Salesman for America."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Lancaster (S.C.) News, Sept. 11, 1969]

### DIRKSEN'S DEATH LEAVES A NATIONAL VOID

The unexpected death of Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN deprives the nation not only of a senator, but of an institution.

For Ev DIRKSEN was that—and many other things as well. He was a renowned wit, a peerless orator, a statesman and a political tactician of the highest order. He was loved and feared by members of his own Republican party. The Democrats attacked him, but they couldn't scorn him.

President Nixon said:

"To politics and government he brought a dedication matched by few and a style and eloquence matched by no political leader of our time." DIRKSEN, the veteran politican of the past who never let the present get away from him, "brought the embellishment of the past to the politics of the present," said Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho. "He was an authenic product of an earlier period who remained prominent and powerful to the moment of his death. We will not see the likes of him again."

The immediate target for much of DIRKSEN's parliamentary foxiness was Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield. The Montanan said: "His word was good. Everything was on the table."

Harry F. Rosenthal, Associated Press writer wrote:

"His language smacked of Shakespeare and the Bible and Victorian England, his delivery of William Jennings Bryan, his fervor of Billy Sunday."

Among his more recent political accomplishments, DIRKSEN played a vital role in passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the ratification of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Both issues depended on obtaining a two-thirds vote in the Senate. On both he had the power to deliver or withhold the Republican votes needed for the two-thirds majority. He bucked powerful pressures in his own party to deliver the votes.

Attacked, praised, reviled, applauded, Ev braved all to do what he thought was best for America and Americans.

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[From the Dillon (S.C.) Herald, Sept. 11 1969]

## EV BRIGHTENED LANDSCAPE

Sen. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was a man of immense personality. Millions were charmed and delighted by his flamboyant style, his folksy wit, and his husky voice which has been described as organ-like and mellifluous.

His mannerisms, tousled hair and baggy eyes made him easy to caricature. He was one of those rare individuals who become legendary in their own time. He enlivened and brightened the political landscape which all too often seems to lack a sense of humor.

DIRKSEN, the senior senator from Illinois, was a product of America's heartland. He was born of what most people would consider common, hard-working people in the small town of Pekin, Ill., in 1896.

His father died when he was five and as a boy he was taught a healthy respect for work. Many of the small town values and virtues stuck with him throughout his life as he became one of the most outstanding political figures of his time.

He was known as a prodigious worker. An early riser, he routinely was at his Senate office by 8:30 a.m. At home he liked to putter in the soil, raising fruits, vegetables and flowers.

Perennially for years, he waged a personal compaign to get the marigold adopted as the national flower. At least once a year he could be counted on to make a speech in which he extolled the beauty of the marigold and enumerated the reasons why he thought it should be the national flower.

DIRKSEN's career in national politics spanned some 35 years. He served 16 years in the House of Representatives before first being elected to the

Senate in 1950. During most of his career, the Democrats dominated the Congress and occupied the White House.

Ironically, DIRKSEN played his greatest political role while the opposition party was in power. As the leader of the Republican minority during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, his favor was ardently courted.

Although his friendliness to some Democratic proposals caused his Republican associates to grumble, DIRKSEN refused to bend to partisan pressures. He took a practical view of the lawmaking process. He once explained it this way:

"You start from the broad premise that all of us have a common duty to the country to perform. Legislation is always the art of the possible. You could, of course, follow a course of solid opposition, of stalemate, but that is not in the interest of the country."

One of the qualities which endeared DIRKSEN to many Americans was his fierce patriotism. He made no bones about loving his country. In an age when some think patriotism is old-fashioned, that isn't always a popular thing to do.

It is difficult to imagine Washington without EVERETT DIRKSEN's immense personality hanging over national politics like some sort of a human equivalent to the Capitol dome.

Without Ev, Washington and the national political landscape is bound to be duller.

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[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Sept. 9, 1969]

## DIRKSEN JOINS THE NOBLE DEAD

A great American heart throbs no more; a strong American voice, mellifluous in its glorification of the grandeur of this land and its people, is silenced. Not again will the people of this beloved land listen to the florid phraseology of the distinguished orator of America, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

He is dead and the flowers of the field, especially the marigolds, drop their heads in sorrow and mourning along with God's favored creatures, men.

Senator DIRKSEN was a remarkable person—as an individual, as a Senator, as a devotee and student of our unique political system, and as an American.

Away from the duties of the Senate, to which he devoted untiring hours of his latter years, he was a devoted husband and an admiring father. In conversation of the parlor, he was not the Shakespearean actor of the Senate or public stage. He was polite, courteous, a profoundly good listener, receptive to new ideas, but strong in his own convictions.

The people knew him best for his public displays of masterful command of the language with Nineteenth Century majesty; his tousled hair and deep voice perfect counterparts to his ready flow of language, resonatingly rich in the style of "belle lettres." His polysyllabic selectivity aided and did not injure the simplicities of the thought he chose to convey.

His store of wit, from which he drew often, was as large as that of Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina—another raconteur of the Senate, noted for his "stories."

This was the surface; the placid, babbling current scarcely ever touched by the froth of anger. Beneath the surface, the dedication to country, people and causes ran deep—and was seldom fathomed by those who criticized him for seeming vacillation.

Senator DIRKSEN did, indeed, alter his strategy from time to time—never abandoning fundamental principles, but moving to adopt contemporary manifestations of those principles when the proper times came.

He did so because, in the historic train of U.S. Senators he has now joined, he was another of the Great Compromisers. Without such men, the American political system would fragment, fail; and freedom would be lost.

Men of totally inflexible principles, narrowly drawn and even more narrowly constricted by events, could not understand the DIRKSENS of our body politic. They never shall as they never have. The late President John F. Kennedy understood and cautioned the young people of America, while he lived, to be prepared to compromise to advance their causes.

Passionate advocates of small minds and smaller interests cannot understand the obligations that fall upon leaders of the U.S. Senate. Sensitive to the needs and demands of a changing, volatile public, they must assess domestic and foreign issues that come before the Senate and pass judgment thereupon. One man's ideology and one man's cause cannot prevail; the will of the majority must be served while the whole of the American people, and the republican form of government, are sustained.

At this point in the legislative process, the DIRKSEN's of history play their roles. EVERETT DIRKSEN's name—as a Great Compromiser—will be permanently attached to memorial pieces of legislation, including the Civil Rights acts, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Blessed are the peacemakers and blessed are the Great Compromisers, although they are often without honor among the ideologues of their day. Senator DIRKSEN was a star among stars, yet unperceived by some of his critics. Today, they should remember Wordsworth, who said: "Look for the stars, you'll say that there are none; look up a second time, and, one by one, you mark them twinkling out with silvery light, and wonder how they could elude the sight!"

In memory of a great American, Wordsworth could be paraphrased: There is one great society alone on earth: the noble living and the noble dead. Noble in life, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is noble in death.

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[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, Sept. 9, 1969]

### EVERETT DIRKSEN

The emphasis in obituary accounts of Sen. EVERETT DIRKSEN of Illinois, who died Sunday at 73, is on his colorful personality. He was a character actor, shrewd, witty, and subtle in argument. What really counts, however, was his role in national politics.

Sen. DIRKSEN came from the middle part of the country. He stood somewhere near the middle on the great issues of our time. He helped to blunt some of the extreme power drives of the Kennedy and Johnson administration, but he also smoothed the path in Congress for such measures as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the nuclear test ban treaty. The former opened the door to lawlessness under guise of "civil rights." The latter allowed the Soviet Union to get an edge on the United States in nuclear armament.

The senior senator from Illinois was preeminently a political log-roller. We don't say that by way of criticism. Log-rolling is necessary in the American political process. He reached the peak of his influence at a time when the GOP tide was low.

As minority leader in the Senate, Sen. DIRKSEN was the principal Republican figure in Washington during the Kennedy and Johnson years. After Sen. Barry Goldwater's defeat, the Republican Party was not only weak, but divided. Sen. DIRKSEN patched the party together and preserved Republican influence on the national scene. He was an old pro in politics. His skills were used to restrain wherever possible two ruthless liberal administrations. He had few equals as a political tactician.

Though Sen. DIRKSEN believed in politics as the art of the possible, and acted accordingly, he stood firm on the overwhelming majority of issues affecting America's well-being. All in all, he had a difficult role, and performed it well.

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[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Sept. 8, 1969]

## EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's silvery tongue and silver mane, both of which were at times uncontrollable, made him a familiar figure to most Americans. His position as leader of the Republican minority in the Senate made him an important national leader.

The Illinois senator's effervescent good humor, the fact that he could change position with alacrity on some political issues, and his throaty, somewhat florid oratory tended to paint a false picture of the man. Many viewed him as a "cornball" with little real depth.

It was only in his late years that the real EVERETT DIRKSEN emerged as he assumed and wisely filled positions of power in his party and in the Senate. Although he was a Republican with a staunchly conservative outlook, he came to be a tower of strength for the last two Democratic administrations. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, both liberals, looked to EVERETT DIRKSEN for help on the really important issues—and often they got more assistance from him than from their party's leadership in Congress.

Senator DIRKSEN showed an amazing ability to change with the times as he aged. He frankly admitted that his views were shifting as conditions changed, although he was in no sense a radical. He was proof that old age does not necessarily make a person inflexible. The senator, therefore, was a valuable bridge between the old and the new in these rapidly-shifting times.

He fully recognized the necessity to shift the Senate's power from the old guard senators to the newcomers—and do it gracefully and without undue disruption. That he was able to work effectively with both the old men and the newcomers in the Senate and with members of both parties was a distinct asset for the nation. It is going to be difficult for anybody to fill his place in the Senate's "generation gap" that is bound to become wider in the months ahead.

Senator DIRKSEN also was an inspiration. He continued to serve more and more effectively despite quite a few physical ailments, any one of which could have sidelined a lesser man. He actually "retired" from politics some years ago because of bad eyesight, but came back. He suffered from a pinched back nerve, a bleeding ulcer and emphysema, a crippling lung disease. Yet he carried on.

It has been said that Senator DIRKSEN was proving to be a "thorn" for President Nixon by opposing some administration nominees and a few policies. The President himself undoubtedly felt otherwise. He knew that although the outspoken senator from Illinois could be difficult on minor matters, he could be relied upon when the going got rough on the really important issues.

That was Senator DIRKSEN's real and often hidden strength. He could play petty politics with the best (or worst) of the petty politicians—and he loved doing it. Nothing delighted him more than confounding ultraliberals. But he well knew the difference between petty politics of little effect upon the national welfare and the vital questions of the day.

When it was learned recently that Senator DIRKSEN had undergone surgery for removal of a malignant lung tumor, it was apparent that his days as a Senate leader were numbered and that his activities would have to be curtailed. But his death of a heart attack yesterday was an unexpected shock.

Leaders of both parties had hoped he could return to the Senate to carry on a while longer as new leadership further matured. That he is no longer available for the difficult transitional work that still lies ahead is a distinct loss to the nation.

We will miss his leadership and wisdom, as well as his dulcet tones and winsome wit. We hardly expect to see another senator like Ev DIRKSEN again.

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[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Sept. 9, 1969]

## SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS, SALESMAN FOR AMERICA

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a man who could have you—conservative or liberal—cheering him one day and denouncing him the next. He fit in no particular ideological mold. Politics abound with philosophical chameleons and Senator DIRKSEN, responding most frequently to the practicalities of the moment, was above all a political person—an archtype, a hyperbole, a caricature—in appearance and in performance.

Those who practice the political arts often display a sense of the dramatic. There was an extra helping of "ham" in the makeup of the Senator from Illinois. If it annoyed some, it delighted millions.

The last six months of DIRKSEN's life were not his greatest or most enjoyable. Perhaps it was because he lost the spotlight and was shoved off center stage by the new Republican President, Richard M. Nixon.

During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, DIRKSEN was the No. 1 spokesman for the Republican Party as Minority Leader of the Senate, Johnson, particularly, courted him and he responded by giving the Democratic President several of his biggest legislative victories.

The Civil Rights of 1964 is an example. DIRKSEN bragged to an audience of South Carolina Republicans that "virtually every civil rights bill has been written in my office." Yet such was the power of his oratory that he had that conservative crowd applauding wildly throughout his speech.

In that same address, DIRKSEN thundered that America needed a Republican President, a Republican Senate and a Republican House. Yet when the GOP President was elected, DIRKSEN occasionally heckled him and embarrassed him. Administration insiders were sometimes appalled when he announced White House decisions to the press in advance. It is understood that the recent Haynsworth appointment to the Supreme Court, for instance, was held up for four days because DIRKSEN had spilled the beans.

Yet DIRKSEN was a Senate and political leader of great ability, a man capable of sweeping swings from the partisan to the non-partisan. He first gained national attention as an isolationist but was closer to being an internationalist at the end. He was an avid Taft man and a Goldwater man who nevertheless worked in concert with Eisenhower and Kennedy and Johnson.

At the time of his death Sunday, he was unquestionably the best-known senator in the United States. This was due as much to his style, his flair, his histrionics, his wit, as to his political prominence. Few men have been endowed with such a glorious and memorable voice. Writers dug the word "mellifluous" from deep in the folds of the dictionary to describe its quality.

During the past few years he used his dramatic skills to make a singular contribution to the times. Disturbed by growing anti-Americanism, he became a spokesman for America and its ideals. And quite a salesman he was. His patriotism came from deep in the heart and he was not ashamed to proclaim it through any medium that presented itself.

It was left to DIRKSEN to describe himself best: "I'm an old-fashioned, garden variety of Republican who believes in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, in Abraham Lincoln, who accepts the challenges as they arise from time to time, and who is not unappreciative of the fact that this is a dynamic economy in which we live and sometimes you have to change your position."

The Senate, where stereotypes now dominate, will be a duller place with "Ev" gone. And American political life will be less rich.

Mr. President, in closing, I am reminded of the words of a poet who once said,

> When a great man dies,
> For years beyond his ken,
> The light he leaves behind him,
> Will shine upon the path of men.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a great man. His light will shine for many, many generations.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON*

### OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, I am saddened deeply—as is each of my colleagues—as I stand in this Chamber, knowing that its walls will never again echo the wisdom so eloquently expressed by EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

I will miss my colleague from the opposite side of the aisle—for reasons numerous and obvious. Senator DIRKSEN may have approached his duties with a manner some call flamboyance. But, above all, he was a U.S. Senator of extreme dedication and ability. His service to this body—to the people of Illinois—indeed to all America and the world, is legend. His knowledge of the body politic, and his ability to work within that framework, always reflected the judgment and wisdom of a man highly dedicated to the American dream.

I could cite hundreds of examples—and Ev DIRKSEN and I did not share the same opinion on many. But, let me point only to one: The Civil Rights Act of 1964—today a viable and important law of the land—and a law which, without the determined minority leadership of Senator DIRKSEN, would probably not be on the books.

More recent events, in the minds of some, would tend to obscure that valuable contribution. But the law remains, and so does the fact that EVERETT DIRKSEN helped mightily in its passage.

EVERETT DIRKSEN had a deep sense of history, which he often used in seeking a course for the future. He stood tall and steady, as did those gallant men of whom he was so fond.

We have lost a warm, trusted friend—a great American. History will long remember EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ALBERT GORE*

### OF TENNESSEE

Mr. President, I have listened with admiration and approval to those extolling the virtues, capabilities, and accomplishments of the late distinguished Senator DIRKSEN of the State of Illinois.

Senator DIRKSEN possessed a power to communicate to his fellow man given to but few.

The power to communicate today in our distraught times, characterized as they are by rapidity of change, is a gift to be treasured. It is a gift which the late Senator DIRKSEN put to great, good use.

The recognition that can come to one who really accomplishes something in his lifetime can live after him. Senator DIRKSEN's contributions are many. I am inclined to think of the contributions he made to the State which I have the honor in part to serve along with his distinguished son-in-law, my junior colleague (Mr. Baker).

During a recess of Congress, or on weekends, EVERETT DIRKSEN loved to steal away to a beautiful spot, a lovely home, presided over by his charming and gracious daughter, in the mountains of Tennessee.

There he planted many a tree and many a flower.

As the years roll by, those trees will grow and the flowers will continue to bloom. The eloquence of their beauty will be symbolic of the eloquence of Senator DIRKSEN and the beauty of his aspirations for his country and its people, symbolic of the future of mankind.

Not only did Senator DIRKSEN give to the lawn and garden of his daughter flowers, trees, and shrubs of beauty, but he also gave to her children the love and the inspiration of a doting, affectionate grandfather. And, in this very personal way, he has contributed, to the wealth and the lore and the love of our State, a lovely daughter, a lovely home, a charming and admirable family.

It is difficult not to reminisce in recollection of Senator DIRKSEN, particularly for me, because in the House of Representatives for 10 years we served together. We served on the same committee together. We engaged in frequent debates. Sometimes those exchanges were referred to as the "Alphonse-Gaston act." This reference, I think, came about because of the courtesy, the gentility, and the respect which Congressman DIRKSEN always showed to his colleague from Tennessee.

In the Senate our relations were warm. The equation between us was characterized by confidence, respect, esteem, and affection.

His departure was a personal loss to me. It was a great loss to the State of Tennessee, in which he had thousands of admiring friends.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JACK MILLER*

### OF IOWA

Mr. President, the death of Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was a great loss to the America he loved so much.

He was a rare individual, colorful and lovable, a man who could pour oil on troubled waters when tempers grew short and patience was thin—a man who spread his irresistible humor and good fellowship everywhere he went. On many occasions he used these talents to remind his colleagues that the lighter side of life has a place—even in the U.S. Senate.

His quality of being able to laugh at himself on occasion was the mark of a humble man, and not at all inconsistent with his stature as a great leader and legislator. All of us know that his dedication to good government and to the Senate he loved so much was unsurpassed.

Although he could be as partisan as anyone, he became especially known for bringing bipartisanship to congressional action on such key programs as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

As President Nixon put it on September 9:

> Senator DIRKSEN belonged to all of us because he always put his country first. He was an outspoken partisan—he was an individualist of the first rank—but he put his nation before himself and before his party.

No higher tribute could be made to a Senator than that "he put his Nation before himself and before his party."

The legacy left by the irrepressible "Ev" was echoed by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who wrote:

> So when a great man dies,
>   For years beyond our ken,
> The light he leaves behind him lies
>   Upon the path of men.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT J. DOLE*

### OF KANSAS

Mr. President, frost has signaled the end of summer. As we move into the brisk days of autumn, the last hardy marigolds wither and fade. Next year they may not bloom with quite the same brilliance, for they have lost their champion, as has the Senate, the Republic, and the cause of liberty.

Everett Dirksen has passed from us. But he will be remembered, for he stood out from those around him with the same brilliance he attributed to his favorite blossom, and his absence will diminish the senatorial bouquet.

Perhaps the most meaningful tribute we could pay is to say simply, "He was a Senator."

By all external measures he filled the role definitely. The tousled hair, sonorous voice, and noble bearing embodied everyone's idea of how a Senator should be.

He was also what a Senator should be. A leader of his party, he placed duty to country above partisanship. He held his beliefs strongly, but could recognize an idea whose time had come. His word was good. He loved his God.

> His life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand on its feet to say to all the world, "This was a man."

To Shakespeare's words we might add, "This was a Senator."

## *ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE*

### OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. President, words cannot mirror or measure the stature of the leader who has been taken from us and the loss which we have known.

Everett Dirksen was an atypical man, yet in his life he exemplified the aspirations of all men: He loved his life, he lived it fully, and he used the full range of his talents in pursuit of a worthy goal.

We who were privileged to know him will always recall him with affection and respect. His lively oratory, his quick wit, his ability to turn ruffled feelings into rippling laughter, were essential to the successful operation of the legislative process. He was a leader in the finest sense of the word: He did not impose his will, he drew out the views of his colleagues and coworkers, found a common ground among them, and in so doing served his Nation and its interests well.

In his work in behalf of human rights, in his capacity to grow and to change with the times, in his love for the little things of life which always kept pace with his appreciation for greatness, Everett Dirksen set a rich example for us all.

To Mrs. Dirksen, a truly great lady, his daughter, Joy, and my colleague, Howard, to his family and host of friends, I extend the simple tribute so well deserved: The world is a far better place for Everett Dirksen having lived and worked in the Government of the United States.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. PETER H. DOMINICK*

### OF COLORADO

Mr. President, throughout our history our greatest statesmen have had at least one outstanding characteristic in common: The ability to find that common ground between the two extremes in any controversy; that middle point where adversaries could meet and resolve their differences. No one in our history more ably demonstrated that trait than Everett McKinley Dirksen. Time after time, with seemingly endless patience, understanding, humor, and good will, he guided us toward that common ground where agreement could be reached.

Everett Dirksen was an eloquent and tireless champion for the principles in which he believed. Attesting to that eloquence during the Republican National Convention in 1960, David Brinkley remarked to his television audience that when Everett Dirksen got up to speak, the words flowed from his lips, perfectly formed, like little balloons. A monument to his statesmanship stands forth in the Civil Rights Act of 1963. So outstanding were his contributions toward the enactment of that legislation that it might well have borne his name.

After 7 years of service in the Senate under his leadership, I can say that I know of no individual with whom I have served who was more willing to cooperate, more generous in his offers to help his colleagues, or more understanding in his association with all of us.

The people of Illinois have lost a gallant spokesman. Our Nation has lost a great leader who gave of himself far more than he received. His presence will be sadly missed, but his memory will be deeply cherished for the contributions he made to his fellow man.

Nancy and I extend our deep sympathy and our great affection to his lovely wife, Louella, and his lovely daughter, Joy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY*

### OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, it is difficult to add to the praise of Senator Everett Dirksen, as far as his deeds and accomplishments were concerned. His colleagues in the Senate down through the years have already done that remarkably well here today—far better than I, who am serving my first year here, can do. I can only say that he was truly one of the great men of the U.S. Senate and the U.S. Government, not just for his time and for our time, but for nearly 200 years of the history of the United States of America. His name will go down in the history books along with those of the Presidents, I do not doubt.

But besides being a superb legislator and a great leader in the Senate, he was a very human person; and I should like to recount a personal story to illustrate the kind of big heart this man had.

When I was first running for Congress, some 7 years ago, campaign funds were rather hard to come by, and I happened to drop by a meeting here in Washington of some people who had come up from Jacksonville, Fla., to ask Senator Dirksen if he would come down and do a fundraising for them.

I really had no part in the meeting. I knew from one of my friends that it was occurring; he asked me to drop by, and I did.

During the course of the evening, the subject came up about the Senator's coming down for this fundraising. He was not too anxious to do it; and there was no reason, particularly, why he should.

Finally he said, "I will do it, provided you people who are organizing it will do one thing for me, and that is to give half of the proceeds to Gurney's campaign for Congress."

I mention that because I had never met Senator Dirksen, and he had never met me. He did not know me, except that I was a young person aspiring to public office in Florida, and needed a hand. This is why he agreed to help raise funds, with the proviso that he put upon it. That was the sort of man he was—a man with a tremendous heart; and I am sure that uncountable other people, who have known him through the years, could tell of personal incidents that happened to them of good deeds done by Senator Dirksen.

Many Senators have stated what a universal love and affection people had for Senator Dirksen. The Senator from Illinois (Mr. Percy) has mentioned the fact that his second home was in Florida. In fact, it was very near where I used to live, in central Florida. I did not know Senator Dirksen before I came to Congress, but I got to know him afterward.

He came down there to central Florida to rest from the hurly-burly of politics and Government here in Washington. He really did not enter the political or social scene of Florida, because his main goal was to spend a few hours there with Mrs. Dirksen, undisturbed by politics and Government.

I think it is fair to say that he was as well loved and respected in Florida as he was in Illinois. In fact, before I came to Congress, and all during the years I spent in the House of Representatives, I well remember that he was known throughout the State as "the third Senator from Florida." The newspaper people and the public figures used to call him that, and I can state that when he died, the people of my State felt his loss just as keenly as those of his own State of Illinois. They loved him, and they feel the loss of this great man along with his wife and his family, the people of Illinois, and all Americans.

I join as wholeheartedly as I can in paying tribute to a truly great American, Everett Dirksen of Illinois.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN G. TOWER*

### OF TEXAS

Mr. President, those of us who are engaged in politics as a profession, I think, recognize that this is probably the most fascinating business in the world. It is also perhaps the most brutal and ruthless business in the world, and those of us who make a career of it have to have pretty tough hides. I think that any number of us are given to question ourselves from time to time as to whether or not it is ice water or human blood that courses through our veins. But I know that to survive in this business, you have to be tough. You have to turn and oppose "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." I know that we have to steel ourselves against our critics. I know that we have to exercise a degree of cunning, and sometimes a degree of insensitivity.

I thank God that we have had among us a sensitive, warm, and human man like Everett Dirksen, who was at once an astute and a tough politician. I think in the history of politics there has been no happier blend of humanity and toughness than was found in Everett Dirksen, a man of superior dedication to principle, never capable, in the callous phrase that we have heard here, of "rising above principle"; a man who did recognize that legislation is "the art of the possible," but who always found a point beyond which there could be no compromise; a man who loved all of his colleagues and had an infinite capacity for love, even for those who vigorously opposed him in this Hall; a man with a forgiving spirit—so rare in this brutal business we find ourselves in; a man who could be a great showman; a man who could kid everybody, sometimes when they did not know it; a man who could at once be a superior parliamentarian, in the best tradition of the Anglo Saxon people, who founded modern democratic political institutions as we know them.

He was one of the most beloved men in the United States—beloved not just because of his manner, but because of his accomplishments. I think the words that one poet said of another, in another time and another place, were, in his own time, fitting:

> The Pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
> Over his living head like Heaven is bent,
> An early but enduring monument.

Today, in paying our tributes to Ev, we have gone through an emotional experience.

I can remember as a green freshman in the Senate, a Member who came directly from a college classroom to one of the most responsible positions in government, that it was this kind and understanding man who took me by the hand. And how many other times did he take so many of us by the hand, those who came here awed and afraid and unsure? How many of us can attribute whatever success we have had to his superior knowledge and understanding?

And in this experience today, we weep not for Ev DIRKSEN, because he has in giant stride achieved that rest which is undefiled and which fadeth not away.

We weep for ourselves. And at once we think better of ourselves because we had the privilege of being his colleague.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. KARL E. MUNDT*

### OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, in paying homage today to the late senior Senator from Illinois, our dear friend Ev DIRKSEN, I would like particularly to emphasize my participation in the ceremonies as a South Dakotan, for in a very great sense EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN had a strong association with the people of the State of South Dakota.

He had many, many friends in my State, not only those whom he knew personally, but also the great numbers who admired him as a national leader and respected him for his opinions and his viewpoints and his convictions.

Possibly Ev Dirksen's first association with South Dakota came during his college days when he was selling books, peddling them door to door to the farmers of the State of South Dakota to help pay his educational expenses.

At that time South Dakota was his territory. One of the areas in which he particularly centered his attention was in the northern part of South Dakota, in Edmunds County, near the county seat community of Ipswich.

As one who was doing the very same thing with the very same books for the very same company a few years later in Butler, Ind., I know of the countless personal contacts and friendships which were developed while selling the People's Home Library books which were published by the Bacon Co. of Cleveland with the intriguing little slogan, "Bacon's books bring home the bacon."

Everett Dirksen was a successful salesman then, as he has been an outstanding salesman throughout his career of public service. And he made a personal impact on the people in the northern part of South Dakota because, as I became acquainted with him personally when we served together in the House of Representatives for all but the 2 tough years when he was troubled by impairment of his eyesight and had to return home, people would question me about that curly headed young man from Illinois who sold books in South Dakota—Everett Dirksen. They followed him as though he were one of their own, and they watched his ascendancy to preeminence here on the Potomac River and took pride in the fact that it was he who traveled the prairie roads of South Dakota selling what we used to call the "PHL."

There was another cause for the greatness, in my opinion, of Ev Dirksen. And it has been alluded to here this afternoon and has been alluded to through countless speeches and prayers in tribute to Ev Dirksen since his untimely passing. And that is the quality of friendship, commingling with a quality of humor.

Certainly these perhaps most of all were found in abundance in Ev Dirksen, for he was a tremendously warm, generous human being which, as we recall his service, was perhaps demonstrated best on those occasions when, though a parting of the ways would come on legislative or political issues, there were never any recriminations or back-biting. In fact, if one left him on a particular issue one day, the next one was always a fresh one. It was a new tomorrow. Each of those disagreements actually strengthened the bond which united us on other issues on which we found ourselves going along shoulder to shoulder.

I refer to Ev DIRKSEN as a giant of the Senate. I think the best measurement of this comes in the knowledge we have that the loss of Ev DIRKSEN marks the end of one era and the beginning of another in the history of the Senate or, for that matter, in the history of this Republic.

The Senate, of course, continues its functions as it always has, but it is not the same without Ev DIRKSEN, as it was never the same after we lost, for example, Bob Taft of Ohio and other men who likewise had earned the title of giants of the Senate.

We miss EVERETT for many reasons, but those of us who served with him, I think, miss him most of all for his great friendship and undiminished capacity to embrace within that friendship all those who were privileged to be his associates.

The country as a whole misses him because he stood forthright and foursquare for a fundamental national policy which always put the people of this Nation first, a policy predicated on preserving liberty and advancing individual opinion for all citizens by building upon and strengthening our Constitution.

In the later years, EVERETT DIRKSEN came back to South Dakota often, sometimes to hunt for the famous ringneck pheasants of our State, but more often to hunt for votes for the Republican ticket which he so loyally championed from coast to coast and border to border.

As a frequent beneficiary of EVERETT DIRKSEN's campaign efforts in South Dakota and as one who has had the privilege of being invited to his State of Illinois to lend whatever assistance I could to his political endeavors, I have had the good fortune of sharing many happy hours in a delightful friendship that goes back three decades, starting in the House of Representatives, as a result of our learning early in our congressional career that we shared together the common experience of selling books from house to house—he in South Dakota and I in Indiana.

In looking back over the years when he was a visitor to our State and I a visitor to his, perhaps the most memorable occasion was when he invited me to deliver a kickoff speech announcing his senatorial campaign in 1950.

EVERETT was returning to the political battleground from a self-imposed retirement. We all know the story of the events of those years when he retired from the House because of his eye affliction and then achieved the miraculous recovery which led to his decision to seek the Senate seat. We have heard him say many times that this was a recovery created by prayer.

I have participated in and attended hundreds of political functions, but the one near Pekin, Ill.—EVERETT's hometown—at the tri-county fairgrounds, on a happy Sunday afternoon, will always stand out in my mind for the genuine warmth and good will of the thousands of people at the fairgrounds to give him a sendoff. On that day he launched what in a sense was the beginning of a new life, as he moved to the Senate from the House with a renewed vigor and subsequently became one of our most respected national leaders.

I stayed with the DIRKSEN family the night before this Sunday afternoon meeting at the fairgrounds near Pekin, Ill. I recall at dinner that night when he and Louella and his charming daughter, Joy, and I were eating in the family dining room, and I was kidding him about the fact that we were all so happy to have him returning to the field of active politics again.

He told about how he really got back into politics. He said that many Republican leaders in Illinois and personal friends and others had been urging him to run. He was disinclined to start in a second career in politics. He said he finally called the family board of directors together to vote on it. There were just three—Louella, Joy, and EVERETT. He voted first, and he voted "no." They voted next, and they voted "aye." So he said, "By a 2-to-1 vote, it was determined I should make the race, because they knew me better than I really know myself. They know my life is in politics. They know I would never be quite happy if I didn't yield to these requests on the part of my associates. Gladly and freely and fully, I now have entered into this great contest for the senatorial seat from the State of Illinois."

Certainly, EVERETT DIRKSEN was not only a great national leader and a great statesman but a great Senator as well. He was one of those giants of history in every sense of the word—a brilliant floor leader, a masterful legislator, a patriot with a remarkable sense of duty, and a man of unimpeachable honor.

EVERETT DIRKSEN has been described as a unique man, one whose like shall not be seen again. Fortunately, EVERETT DIRKSEN was a product of a unique country, which has a remarkable capacity for producing unique and brilliant leaders. We have had them in the past, as we shall have them in the future. So, while EVERETT DIRKSEN passes this way only once, there happily are many more gallant men to pick up the standard of this great fallen warrior for freedom, who continue on the same road of undiminished patriotism, helping to build an even greater and better America.

This Republic is both better and greater because of the service and because of the presence and because of the inspiration of EVERETT DIRKSEN.

May joins me in extending to Louella and to Joy our deepest condolences, commingled with congratulations on their relationship to a great American. This country is safer and stronger and sounder because EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN passed this way.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. TED STEVENS*

### OF ALASKA

Mr. President, on the first Sunday of September, late on an afternoon when the very first leaves of autumn were beginning to turn, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN died.

In the waning days of the most turbulent decade this Nation has ever known, the Nation lost one of the most articulate and able leaders it had possessed.

It seems, in retrospect, that we have always had him with us. I was a boy of 10 when he came to the House of Representatives. He won his party's nomination and subsequently a Senate seat in 1950: the year I graduated from law school. It seems he has been with us always.

Under six administrations he has been there when the Nation needed him. He saw and presided over the transformation of this country from the sleeping isolationist giant of the 1930's to our present position as the most prosperous and powerful nation on earth.

He was called a conservative, an appellation that brought more distinction to the word than it did to him. In a dynamic and magnificent way, he believed in and fought for, the freedom of man; the dignity of man; the greatness of man. He believed that the chains of bondage holding men down must be broken—whether these chains were an insular and monolithic Federal Government, or the chains of bigotry and racial hatred.

He did not fit the comfortable mold so readily prepared for politicians who are termed "conservative." He fought hard for the 1964 Civil Rights Act and was instrumental in its passage—an occurrence that led many to ask: "Is this a new DIRKSEN?"

It was not a new DIRKSEN. It was the same man, unafraid to do what he thought was right—and, as always, doing it extremely well.

He said once—upon being questioned about his changes in position on various issues—"If a man doesn't change his mind, he is either a fool or dead." The remark in many ways epitomized the man. He was the essence of practical politics—but managed to never lose sight of the greater goals for the people of this Nation.

Perhaps an even greater key to this man's character was his reply to another query concerning what he thought his greatest legislative achievement had been. DIRKSEN replied—this is an approximate quotation:

> Although it is perhaps a negative distinction, I am most proud of the bills which I prevented from being enacted.

On another occasion he remarked:

> The American people can thank God that only 6 to 8 percent of all legislation introduced becomes law.

He realized that the most basic ingredient of democratic freedom lay in the absence of excessive regulation. He knew that it was perfectly possible for a free society to legislate itself to death. He believed that the accomplishments of a government cannot be measured in inches of statutes, and that the freedom of man could not be measured as a ratio of Federal regulation.

Yet, when events and circumstances warranted, he would not hesitate to support and work for laws as sweeping as any in history. He set a high standard and the Nation stood taller because of it.

He looked and sounded like a Senator. He was in the great tradition of this body: a statesman, an orator, a leader of his people. His impact on the Senate and the Nation will be felt as long as free men meet together and call themselves Americans.

His sense of humor was unfailing. Not unconsciously did he cultivate his old-fashioned and courtly image. His carefully tousled silver hair; the booming stentorian voice; and his eloquent and ornate style of speaking, all served as a gentle reminder that no one, no matter how high, should be afraid to smile at themselves. And in this age of the fashionable condemnation of America, he knew, too, the difference between the smile and the sneer.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. Even his name rolls off the tongue like silver bells, bringing back reminders of great debates, crises averted, and difficulties conquered.

In the beginning of this autumn, EVERETT DIRKSEN has left us. His legacy of honor, courage and fortitude are a treasure of all generations of Americans to come. We who knew him stand humble today; humble but not bowed. For if he taught one thing, it is that we must never be bowed. Believing in what is right, we will go on, working for those things Ev DIRKSEN believed in.

His life was devoted to America. This devotion resulted in a better America. He certainly would ask no more than that—and we who stand here today, with many great tasks undone, can do no more than carry on, as he would have.

After every autumn comes the spring. Every apparent death beneath the snows of winter bears within itself the fruit of life for the coming summer. We must take a lesson from the good American earth, which EVERETT DIRKSEN loved so well. We must see to it that the ideals and hopes which he cultivated so lovingly in the people of this Nation are never lost.

If we do this, then we will carry on his work successfully. We will insure that the bright dreams and high ideals of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN are never lost beneath the drifting snows of winter, but rather, like the seeds in his garden, grow ever stronger in the promise of never-ending summer.

Ann and I enjoyed being with Ev and Lou Dirksen. We shall cherish the memories of being with them in their home and together with them at social functions. But, the moment I shall not forget was that moment when I was first on the floor—a newly appointed Senator—and he said to me:

Let me walk you down the aisle.

And Everett McKinley Dirksen stood by me while I took my oath as a U.S. Senator.

He will, I feel, be standing by me so long as I am privileged to serve here.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JACOB K. JAVITS*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, I am grateful to my colleague for his very gracious statement in yielding to me.

I hope very much that Senator Percy is right about his appraisal, because I considered Everett Dirksen one of the most illustrious Members of the Senate.

The passing of Everett McKinley Dirksen marks the end of an era. A distinguished public servant and talented political partisan, he led as a friend and out of the regard of his colleagues. As such, he is irreplaceable. Senator Dirksen was uniquely a legislator. Indeed, the greatest compliment often paid to the memory of such great leaders as Sir Winston Churchill is to say that they were first and foremost, "House of Commons men." Much of the same thing can be said of Everett Dirksen. His first and greatest love was the Congress of the United States. His skills were those of a parliamentarian. Both in the Senate and the House, Everett Dirksen used his considerable intellectual powers to persuade, to inform, to cajole, to entreat, even on occasion to threaten—but always to stimulate action.

I served briefly with Everett Dirksen in the House, but I knew him best as a Senate colleague. All my service in the Senate was spent with him, and for most of that time he served as the leader of my party. Thus, I had the opportunity of working closely with him and of intimately observing his many qualities.

It is a nostalgic memory for each of us to think of EVERETT DIRKSEN telling the story of how he gained the votes for cloture on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The very apogee of that story was how, when he finally had just one more vote to get and he had used every conceivable argument and every conceivable point of self-interest for the future, he finally had to appeal to the past. And he appealed to the last Senator on that ground that he "owed him one"—that is, the Senator owed EVERETT DIRKSEN one, and this was the moment he wanted to collect. As we all know, those are always the toughest votes. But EVERETT's character was so impressive that it could not be denied to him.

This, to me, represents the most vivid memory of EVERETT DIRKSEN.

The keenness with which EVERETT DIRKSEN understood every nuance of what we were negotiating was a matter of tremendously refreshing quality to me.

I often thought that the floor of the Senate was EVERETT DIRKSEN's jousting ground. This was where he came in the morning, full of anticipation, to find a lance worthy of his own, and on occasion he was not disappointed.

EVERETT DIRKSEN and I did not always agree, but he was a pragmatic and sensible man, who abhorred rigid ideologies. He was always capable of change and utilized the art of compromise skillfully and creatively. Thus, through almost four decades he had an important role in shaping the major laws which affect the lives of every American. I remember most clearly his role in the long and difficult struggle to enact the civil rights bills of 1964, 1965, and 1968. Indeed, I believe that history will consider the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to have been his crowning achievement, and for this the Nation should always be grateful to him.

But I do not believe that EVERETT DIRKSEN will be identified in American history with any particular piece of legislation. Rather, he will be thought of as the epitome of a very unique American political tradition—and we are unlikely to see his like again. For the flowing and mellifluous oratory of which he was so capable was of the past, but in legislative practice, he was very much of the present and future.

He was capable of exercising superbly the art of political and legislative compromise. He knew, as President Nixon said, that his friends are not always his allies and that his adversaries are not always his enemies. While he disagreed, he never hated. He played the game very hard and tough, but without personal animosity. Thus, he was able to move back and forth between contending groups and Senators, to build new and often very different coalitions, issue by issue. Most importantly, he was able to establish a series of most constructive partnerships with the four different Presidents—two of them Democrats, two of them of his own Republican Party—who held our Nation's highest office during Senator DIRKSEN's long tenure as Senate minority leader.

He was a man of extraordinary character—an unforgettable and majestic voice, a ringing and literary oratorical style. When he spoke, we all listened—every Senator, every member of the Senator's staffs, the entire Senate gallery. We listened, not because we might agree with him or even could be persuaded by him on the particular issue to which he was addressing himself, but to learn and to be impressed and refreshed and often amused—by his sparkling wit and style.

Finally, it must be said that EVERETT DIRKSEN had a quality which is most unusual among politicians and public servants, a quality which we, who served with him—and the press and the public, generally—will sorely miss. He had a sense of humor about himself and therefore a sense of perspective.

What newspaperman will forget EVERETT DIRKSEN going up to the Press Gallery after the Tuesday Republican Caucus, tucking his feet under him, a feat he seemed to perform effortlessly, and then giving forth, as he put it, with wisdom and information, whatever he would like to plant with the press that day.

He had a dramatic feeling for the long corridor of history and for the broad currents of political philosophy. He used humor—often self-deprecatingly—as a reminder to himself and to his colleagues that no matter how serious one's purpose, one is still a man entirely capable of erring.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN had a deep and abiding love for this Nation—for its history and its promise, for its strengths and its weaknesses.

To his wife, Louella, his daughter and son-in-law, I would say: I had real affection for EVERETT and I miss him sorely—that is the ultimate test. I feel so, too, does the Nation and the world.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. HIRAM L. FONG*

## OF HAWAII

Mr. President, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was one of the most colorful and remarkable men ever to serve in the U.S. Congress. His sudden passing, just when he appeared to be recuperating so well from surgery, shocked and stunned us all. He had been so durable during other serious illnesses that somehow we expected him once again to recover.

As we try to sort out in our minds the full impact on his passing, we are acutely aware that Congress has lost one of its most distinguished and able Members, my party has lost one of its most effective leaders, and our Nation has lost one of its staunchest patriots.

Ev DIRKSEN served in the House of Representatives for 16 years and in the Senate for 18, the last 10 of these in the post of minority floor leader for my party. His influence as minority leader far exceeded what could be expected from a captain with a crew that for the entire decade numbered less than a majority and at one time was outnumbered 2 to 1. Time and again he demonstrated his legislative skill.

Many historic pieces of legislation bear the DIRKSEN imprint. We all know of his great efforts in the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Both landmark bills were due much to EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN as any other person in Government. His efforts salvaged many vital measures.

It was Ev DIRKSEN's first year as minority leader that Hawaii became a State and I was elected to the Senate. Ev DIRKSEN had voted for Statehood for Hawaii, and he was pleased that the people of the islands selected a man of his party as one of Hawaii's first two Senators.

While Ev DIRKSEN was indisputably Republican, he viewed his obligation as floor leader not solely as leader of a party but first and foremost as citizen of his country.

He often said there was one debt greater than the Federal debt and that was the debt he owed his country. In uniform in war and in public service in peace and war, I believe EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN repaid that debt with interest.

Ev Dirksen was a man of courage. He had the courage to battle for his views no matter what the odds against him and to champion a just cause even though it might be unpopular at the moment.

He had the courage to change his views. He agreed with Emerson that "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

He had the courage to laugh at himself and not to take himself too seriously.

He had the courage to carry on despite many physical ailments. During the years of off-and-on illnesses, his sheer determination and dedication to duty enabled him to continue.

Big in stature and big in heart, Ev Dirksen was a smalltown boy from the prairie land of Illinois. But he could take the measure of the big city boys and show them a thing or two. He could match wits and words with the best of his competition.

And with what great voice he spoke. How we all shall miss that trademark of his, the articulation which demanded and obtained the attention of all within earshot.

But behind the rumbling rise and fall of the Dirksenian oratory; beneath that rugged exterior was a gentle man, a man who loved nothing better than to work in his garden among his flowers or watch the wild birds. He was, as we all know, the champion of the lowly marigold.

Ev Dirksen was as American as apple pie and watermelon and marigolds.

He was unique, made of the stuff which will leave an indelible mark upon our Nation's highest legislative body. The name of Everett McKinley Dirksen is indeed assured an honored niche in the history of America, for he walked long and tall on the center stage of pubic life.

Ev Dirksen will not easily be replaced. His devoted public service, his wisdom and absolute commitment to this Nation will be sorely missed. An incomparable man has left us.

With hearts full of sorrow, my wife Ellyn and I bid a final aloha to our good friend Ev Dirksen. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, to their daughter Joy and her husband, our colleague Senator Baker, and to all the family in this sad time of bereavement. We hope they will derive much comfort from the many expressions of high esteem accorded their beloved Everett Dirksen.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CLAIBORNE PELL*

### OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, I rise to say how sad it is that Everett McKinley Dirksen is no longer among us.

His "joie de vie," his warm humor and oratorical prowess, and his wide and sincere friendship, all endeared him to Senators on both sides of the aisle.

He was liked by those with whom he disagreed just as he was liked by those with whom he did agree.

I know that I miss him very much.

I extend all my sympathy to his family and friends upon his death.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN*

### OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, how does anyone speak adequately of that gallant man, Everett McKinley Dirksen?

What words are of use for such a purpose?

Do we say that he was strong and wise?

Do we list his merits and achievements, one by one, and then stand back in the hope we have captured his image?

If we tried, Mr. President, we could only fail.

The essence of such a man cannot be summed up in words; not a man like the late, great Senator from Illinois.

He was honest, he was patient, and he was fair.

Simple virtues, these. Virtues that make mere acquaintances the closest of friends. But such words do not begin to describe the person, the legend, the spirit, that was Everett Dirksen.

In his wisdom, God has not seen fit to bless us with others in his mold.

His was a rarity of spirit, a gentleness of tact, a brilliance of wit, and a depth of understanding that shall not soon be witnessed again—and we are the poorer for it.

He was a politician marvelously skilled at reconciling differences—bringing together differing viewpoints into a productive whole.

He was a brilliant orator with a rumble in his throat who could evoke word-pictures as vivid as life itself.

By his life, and by his death, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN set an example; he illuminated goals, and he left us a worthy heritage. He was a man who evoked passion; he was a man who felt compassion.

He symbolized and reflected the greatness of America.

In this Chamber, we knew him as a giant among lawmakers.

His family knew him as a loving husband and a devoted father.

The Nation knew him as a dynamic leader loved by all.

He was a good man and a great American.

We mourn his loss. We salute his memory.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT C. BYRD*

### OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President—

Let fate do her worst.
There are relics of joy,
Bright dreams of the past
That she cannot destroy.

They come in the nighttime
Of sorrow and care,
And bring back the features
That joy used to wear.

Long, long be my heart
With such memories filled,
Like the vase in which roses
Have once been distilled.

You may break, you may shatter
The vase, if you will.
But the scent of the roses
Will hang 'round it still.

It is hard for us to visualize a U.S. Senate without the presence of the remarkable Senator from Illinois, the late EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. It is as if a pillar had been torn away, a pillar that furnished it central strength and stability, fashioned with grace and elegance and skill. But the memory of his smile, his voice, his effervescent spirit, his matchless sense of humor, will linger on as long as we who served with him still live.

All of us greatly admired EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. We admired him for his resonant voice, his effectiveness as an orator, his dexterity as a debater, his skill as a legislator.

As an orator, he ranks at the pinnacle in the tradition of great American political orators.

As a politician, he served his party well and he served his Nation well—first as a Member of the House of Representatives for eight terms and then thereafter in the Senate, serving from 1951 until his death.

As a legislator, he had few peers.

As a leader, he had few equals.

He served as minority whip in 1957. He was elected minority leader in 1959, a post he occupied with distinction during this past decade.

Throughout this time, there have been many in the Senate serving on both sides of the aisle who, in working with him, knew that he possessed an infinite store of knowledge with respect to legislative business. It was not mere appearance, nor was it happenstance that this was true. EVERETT DIRKSEN, while serving first as a Member of the other body, served on the District of Columbia and the Territories and Immigration Committees. Later he served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, on the Appropriations Committee, and also on special committees on the reorganization of the executive branch of the Government.

In the Senate, he served on the Judiciary Committee, the Appropriations Committee, the Committee on Rules and Administration, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Finance, and other committees.

I felt a warm personal affinity for EVERETT DIRKSEN. In my relationship with him I found him to be always very considerate and cordial and understanding.

There are a great many tributes, deserved and fully appropriate, which can and should be paid to the memory of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN and his service to his country. I believe there is no greater tribute that can be paid to a great statesman and to call attention to his personal expression of his deep belief in a Supreme Being and to his personal conviction of the virtue of prayer for all Americans. This can be said of our late departed colleague, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN, as we all know, introduced a bill to provide for a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary, nondenominational prayer in public schools. Many of us are privileged to have had the opportunity to serve as cosponsors of the measure here in the Senate.

Few men have won such wide recognition, nationally and internationally, for their adroitness and skill and expertise in handling delicate problems in human relationships. Perhaps therein lies the ultimate truth of Senator DIRKSEN's unique capacity and the real measure of the effectiveness of his own successful years in public life—he cared enough for others to spend patiently his time and energy to weave together a more perfect pattern of human understanding and cooperation among men.

Senator DIRKSEN is missed. He will be missed. We are all privileged to have served with him here in the U.S. Senate.

I know we all shall always treasure our personal experience with this Senator, who I believe will be ranked by history as one of the greatest Members of this body.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a good man, who served his country and his people. Loved and respected by all who knew him, he will always be remembered as a kindly man, from whose life will flow throughout the years ahead rich and tender blessings for all of the people of this Republic.

I saw the sun sink in the golden west;
  No angry cloud obscured its latest ray.
Around the couch on which it sank to rest
  Shone all the splendor of a summer day.
And long, though lost to view, that radiant light,
  Reflected from the sky, delayed the night.
Thus, when a good man's life comes to a close,
  No doubts arise to cloud his soul with gloom.
But faith triumphant on each feature glows,
  And benedictions fill the sacred room.
And long do men his virtues wide proclaim,
  While generations rise to bless his name.

Mr. President, to Mrs. Dirksen, to his daughter, and to his son-in-law, a distinguished Member of this body, my wife and I extend our heartfelt sympathy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. MARK O. HATFIELD*

### OF OREGON

Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity that has been extended to me by my friend the Senator from Illinois, now the senior Senator from Illinois, and join with him and other Members of this body in paying tribute to Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

At certain crucial times in our history there appear men who through their example and their oratory serve as an affirmation of the values of an age. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was such a man. With the passing of the distinguished Senator from Illinois, a chapter has ended in the annals of this great deliberative body. To quote the Honorable Leslie Arends, a man to whom EVERETT DIRKSEN was a close personal friend:

> Senator DIRKSEN will forever stand tall on the pages of history of our day with the Clays, the Calhouns and the Websters of yesterday. It is not whether he or they were right or wrong in what they said; it is that they were fearless in what he and they believed and eloquently persuasive in expressing their beliefs.

There were many instances when I was not in agreement with the Senator from Illinois, but one can never say that he did not fight mightily for what he believed in or thought right. And there is not one man who can say that EVERETT DIRKSEN did not love this Nation and its people—although over the years both were a source of disappointment to him—and for 42 years devoted himself entirely to building this Nation and his State of Illinois into a better place for all men.

In political creed Senator DIRKSEN harked back to the days of Edmund Burke, the great British parliamentarian, who said it was his business to consult with his people, but it would be a betrayal of his conscience and a disservice to them if he failed to exercise his independence of judgment.

In his rugged individualism I am always reminded of the poem, "Invictus," by William Ernest Henley, in which Ev Dirksen found close identification in the words:

> I am the Captain of my Fate—and I am the Master of My Soul.

Appropriately, the poem was read by Everett Dirksen in his album entitled "Man Is Not Alone." His solace in his position of isolation was with God, and in the Bible Senator Dirksen found great comfort and assistance when the burdens of his office weighed heavily on his shoulders or his history of ill health crowded in on him and interfered with his prodigious capacity for hard work.

Thirty-seven years ago he came to the House of Representatives, and throughout his years with that body and the Senate he left an indelible mark on the history of this country. Just before his 70th birthday he summarized his philosophy as this:

> You become reconciled to the fact that, first of all, change is eternal, but there is one essential and fundamental thing to which I cling—that the essence of government is the freedom of the people.

As evidence of this personal goal, he was instrumental in effecting major issues of our time: most recently the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with Russia and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The position of the Senate Republican leader, in which capacity he served for 10 years, is characterized not only by the power of the office but also the stature of the man. In an article entitled "If Man Die, Shall He Live Again?" he eloquently expressed his religious convictions:

> Except for the handiwork of the Great Designer, nothing in this world is created, and nothing is destroyed. . . .
>
> In autumn the gaily colored leaves fall gently to the earth, not to be destroyed but to be embraced by nature for future use. . . .
>
> It is the Resurrection of spring. It is an answer to the ageless question of Job "If man die, shall he live again?" Surely he shall, as surely as the day follows night, as surely as the stars follow their courses, as surely as the crest of every wave brings its trough.

Surely shall Everett McKinley Dirksen.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. J. CALEB BOGGS*

## OF DELAWARE

Mr. President, it has been almost 2 months since Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN passed from the earth, but his memory lingers in these Halls and in this land.

With his death, the American people lost a statesman, his party lost a great leader, we in the Senate lost a valued colleague, and his family lost a dearly loved one.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a great American leader who left his own imprint on most of the landmark legislation that has been passed through this Chamber in the last two decades. His influence and his good judgment were, in considerable measure, responsible for the enactment of many of those important bills.

As an advocate, he was without peer. Often his eloquent and reasonable oratory held us enthralled and carried the day for his point of view.

He also often was ahead of his time in his evaluation of the American mood. He recognized 8 years ago that the new generation was different from the present one. He said at Gettysburg on the 98th anniversary of Lincoln's address:

> What strange doubts assail this timid generation of today as it beholds the challenges to both liberty and equality.
>
> We seem beset with fear, not faith, with doubt not confidence, with compromise not conviction, with dismay not dedication. We are drenched with literature of fear and doubt. Survival has become the main theme.

My deepest sympathies go to Mrs. Dirksen and her family. I know that, as deeply as we feel this loss, theirs is so much greater.

This Chamber will be a lesser place without the former senior Senator from Illinois. But I am confident that recollections of his skill, his humor, his eloquence, and his honesty will serve as a memorial that will echo through these Halls for years to come.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. LEN B. JORDAN*

### OF IDAHO

Mr. President, I join Senators in mourning the passing of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, a witty and sagacious statesman who always kept the Nation's interests in the forefront, and a warm, stalwart friend to us all.

I first met Senator DIRKSEN in Boise in 1951, when I was Governor and he came to Idaho to deliver a Lincoln Day speech. He had only recently been elected to the Senate, but he was recognized as a nationally prominent Member of Congress because of his active role in the House, his oratorical gifts, and his demonstrated political ability in unseating the powerful Senator Scott Lucas.

Senator DIRKSEN came to my office and we visited for a couple of hours. Here I was first impressed not only by the warm friendliness of the man, but also by his sincere religious faith. He told me about the near blindness that had forced him to quit his House post in 1947.

> The Man Upstairs must have felt that I had other work to do—

He said, with simple conviction—

> because my sight was restored and I was able to resume my career in Government.

The State of Illinois, the Nation, and the world have good reason to rejoice that the temporary curse of blindness was removed from this great man at what was the beginning of his richest years in Congress.

The eloquence of Senator DIRKSEN frequently obscured for observers the true nature of his success as a Senator and a congressional leader.

He was, first of all, a prodigious worker, a man who really looked at issues from all sides and who assiduously did his homework. Few realize how hard he worked at his job. He was an early riser and his senatorial duties frequently kept him at his desk far into the night. I do not know when he got any sleep, but he was on the job when it counted, even though he had more than his share of sickness and disabilities.

Senator DIRKSEN did much of his own research on legislation. Here he relied on his retentive memory and his keen analytical mind. These abilities, coupled with his long experience on the Hill, helped insure that few things got by him, and helped place his imprint on much of the major legislation of the past decade.

Senator DIRKSEN's great abilities were demonstrated during his service as minority leader under two Democratic Presidents. Because of the tight balance in the Congress, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson had to rely on him, and in that position of the balance of power he became one of the most influential Members of the Congress, a position he continued to hold under President Nixon. In his difficult role of the leader of the "loyal opposition," he never failed to keep the country's interests foremost in his mind and in his legislative actions. This accounts for much of his influence and for the warm, bipartisan respect the country has for him.

Some of his critics have described the Senator from Illinois as indecisive or wishy-washy because he changed his mind on certain major issues. This most assuredly is not a fair characterization.

One of Senator DIRKSEN's great abilities as a statesman was that he remained flexible on great public issues. He refused to be locked in on a position until he had an opportunity to hear and weigh all the evidence. He also had mastered the art of political compromise, knowing from experience when and how to make a compromise to accomplish a desired objective.

Senator DIRKSEN was most persuasive, both on and off the floor. But he was no arm twister, and never abused his influence or imposed on a friendship. During my tenure in the Senate, he never once asked me for a vote, and I have never known of his twisting any Senator's arms.

One of his favorite quotations was, "The oil can is mightier than the sword," and his political life demonstrated the truth of that maximum.

This does not mean that he did not fight for his principles. He did. Everyone knows that he was tough and tenacious in debate, when the issues were joined. But he did not hold grudges, and he came up from a licking with a smile and a determination to let bygones be bygones and get on with the business at hand. Here his marvelous sense of humor was a dependable rudder.

Truly, he was unique among the great leaders of this century. His prestige and his dedication have influenced the course of the major issues of his day. Always he put what is good for the country above politics. And he could always relieve the tensions of the day by a dissertation in flowing rhetoric on why the marigold should be our national flower.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE*

### OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, Everett Dirksen was a most unusual person, unique in his time.

Over his long legislative career, he contributed indispensable leadership on many matters, among them the 1964 Civil Rights Act. I remember well the long months of meetings in his office and the final sessions in which agreement was reached with the administration on the specific provisions of that act. In those sessions Senator Dirksen displayed the many-sided negotiating skills for which he was so noted.

At its finest, his ability to work out acceptable compromises exemplifies a, perhaps the, basic element in our political system—the give and take through which widely differing views and interests are accommodated in a peaceful, orderly way, both as between our two major parties and within each of them.

Everett Dirksen loved the Senate, he loved the legislative process, and he loved his own part in it. In this, despite his physical ills, he was fortunate, for few men find the happiness in their work that he found in his.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER*

### OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, it is most appropriate that the Senate has set aside time today for eulogies in memory of a great Senator, a great humanitarian, and a great American, the late Senate minority leader, Everett M. Dirksen.

Few men have served their country so well, and so long, as Senator Dirksen, and his sudden death came at a time when he was still serving actively and vigorously as he had for many years in the Senate.

Presidents, Senators, and Representatives alike respected his views, and recognized the significant and constructive role he played in the passage of many important, and often controversial, bills. In the early sixties, for example, he helped to champion important and far-reaching civil rights legislation, and it is accurate to say that without his active leadership many of those important measures would not have passed Congress.

I also commemorate the important role he played in the smooth working of the two-party system. As one of the most important Republican leaders in Washington during the past Democratic administrations, he did not hesitate to provide bipartisan support for important bills, and he provided a channel of communication between the Democratic administrations and the Republican Party, which is a vital part of our democratic form of government.

As a colorful spokesman, as a champion of many causes, as a constructive legislator, and as a warm human being, Everett Dirksen left a mark on Congress that will never be replaced. The Senate has lost a distinguished leader, and the country has lost a distinguished man.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. MILTON R. YOUNG*

### OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, the passing of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen has deeply saddened the hearts of people everywhere—especially in Congress, where he served with great distinction for more than 35 years. Few men in the history of the Nation have left a deeper imprint on legislation passed by Congress and on the policies of the Nation than Senator Dirksen.

He was a man of many talents—all of which he made good use of. He was a tremendously hard worker and deeply devoted to his country, his responsibilities as a legislator and to the Republican Party.

Ev, as he was affectionately known by everyone, was a most effective orator and debater. His outstanding effectiveness as a legislator was due not only to his great intellect and his unusual ability, but also to hard work and devotion to duty. Not much legislation of major importance passed Congress in his time in which he did not have a part in its enactment.

Our beloved friend and colleague, Senator DIRKSEN was an unusual and colorful person. He had a keen mind and a great store of knowledge on almost every subject. Beginning as a young man, he was a great student of the Bible. Through his love of the stage, he delved deeply into the writings of Shakespeare and other literary greats. He often drew on this store of knowledge in making his points—whether it was on the floor of the Senate or in speeches elsewhere all over the Nation Ev was a truly memorable and outstanding personality.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a true Christian. Although he often engaged in heated debates, I do not believe he ever bore any ill will or hatred toward anyone. This even-tempered, personable, and lovable way of his was in a large measure responsible for his extraordinary effectiveness.

Ev DIRKSEN, through the quarter of a century that I was privileged to work with him, was a good and true friend—one I will always remember and miss greatly. He has left a deep imprint on our lives and on this Senate that will not soon be forgotten. He was truly one of the alltime great Members of this body.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife, Louella; his daughter, Joy; our colleague Senator Baker and all of his family. May the world always be kind to them.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER*

### OF LOUISIANA

Senator DIRKSEN was born and reared in a small country town, Pekin, Ill., where he attended elementary and secondary school. Upon graduation from high school, he studied law at what was then a small law college at the University of Minnesota. It was not until he reached Congress in 1933, during the depth of the great depression, that he began to acquire national stature.

Through self-study, he blossomed into one of the great orators of our time and of the Senate. He was a student of the Bible and of the classics. Often his Senate colleagues listened in rapt attention as he used very effective quotations to strengthen his points.

Senator Dirksen was an excellent story teller and was able to draw upon his personal life, as well as literature, to entertain his listeners while at the same time, fortifying his position during Senate debates.

He was a colorful and outstanding leader and I doubt that he had a peer in his ability to bring together men with differing views. He knew well the value of compromise and prided himself upon his ability to find some good in both sides of important public questions.

He was a remarkable spokesman for Illinois, his party, and the Senate, and I know that all of us here will miss him.

We live in a time when national attention is focused on the problems of our cities and those who live in our great urban areas. It seems to me that we are sometimes prone to forget that historically a great part of our national strength has always come from the small towns and rural areas. Senator Dirksen was the product of such an environment. I believe that he would like to be remembered as a country boy who made a lasting imprint on our national life. There have been many like him in the past, and I expect there will be many in the future.

To his wife and family, I extend my sincere regrets at his passing.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF*

### OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, I join with Senators in expressing the sorrow and sense of loss felt by the Senate and the entire Nation at the death of the late Senator Everett M. Dirksen.

I had the honor of serving with the Senator from Illinois on the Committee on Finance. Both in the committee room and on the floor of the Senate, I came to respect the Senator for his strengths as a legislator and as a leader.

As minority leader, Senator Dirksen led his party in this Chamber for 10 years. His role in the Senate leadership was instrumental in securing final congressional passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the historic Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968.

His influence as minority leader was well established, but his fame as an energetic and eloquent speaker was known throughout the Nation. Who can forget his impassioned appeals to establish the marigold as the national flower, or his best-selling patriotic recordings.

The United States is grateful for the essential part Everett Dirksen played in the Nation's affairs for more than a decade. As Representative, Senator, and national leader, his was a leading role, and Congress and the country have lost a remarkable man, a good friend, and an outstanding leader.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. NORRIS COTTON*

### OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, of significance to those of us who are old enough to remember the baseball greats of bygone years is the inscription on the statue of Christy Matthewson in the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N.Y.: "Matty Was Master of Them All."

This is the expression that we who served with and watched Everett McKinley Dirksen through long years instinctively apply to him: "Ev was master of them all."

We are not content to speak of him as "colorful," though he was colorful. We are not satisfied to call him eloquent, though his superb vocabulary and his inexhaustible knowledge of history, the classics, and of people made him almost incomparable as an orator. These terms fail to do Everett Dirksen justice. The Congress of the United States has known many profound scholars, many eloquent tongues, many striking and forceful personalities. But rarely, if ever, has it known one who combined all these qualities with both the capacity and the habit of unremitting toil that made him the master of his subject whenever his voice was raised whether in committee, on the floor, or in the public forum.

We elders, when we indulge in the golden recollections of those whom we have loved and lost, are prone to dwell on the impressions of the earlier years. I first saw and learned about EVERETT DIRKSEN when I was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1944 when he was a candidate for the presidential nomination. Some of us from back in the sticks said, "Who is DIRKSEN?" My own Congressman replied:

> If you were in Congress, you would know, for he is running at the request and with the backing of every Republican Member of the House of Representatives.

Two years later I entered Congress. I saw him then as perhaps the most powerful Member of the House of Representatives. Whenever the door of the cloakroom opened and someone whispered, "DIRKSEN is up," every Member flocked to the Chamber to hear him. And in that body, where time is at a premium, there were always cries of "give him more time." But my most vivid recollection was seeing him leave the office building at night with a bulging briefcase, prepared to spend hours in studying legislation. Then came those sad days when we all, Democrats and Republicans alike, with a sense of our own personal tragedy watched him falter with failing eyesight and go into what he and we expected was his last retirement.

I need not speak of our years with him here in the Senate for those we all share. It was then that I came to cherish him, not so much as a leader and counselor, but as a never-failing friend. It was then that we all loved to sit with him and enjoy his wisdom and wit and humor. It was those hours of companionship that cause each of us to share with his beloved wife and daughter the sorrow and the pride.

Over whatever seas he is sailing
   Whatever strange winds fan his brow,
What company rare he's regaling
   I know it is well with him now.

And when my last voyage I am making
   May I go as he went, unafraid
And, the Pilot that guided him taking,
   May I make the same port he has made.

# *ADDRESS BY HON. PAUL J. FANNIN*

## OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, true statesmanship, they say, is the art of changing a nation from what it is into what it ought to be.

That is the context in which I remember our late beloved minority leader, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

He was a man of many parts.

He was the man from Pekin. Born in the Illinois heartland of America before the turn of the century, he was the product of America. Educated in the public schools of his hometown he turned to the practice of law after having served his country as a doughboy and an officer in the First World War.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was able to assume many roles in the compass of his life. He was part lawyer, poet, actor, orator, soldier, teacher, and exhorter. This magnificent blend of talent and ability found a wonderful instrument in the voice and actions of our fallen leader.

He loved to quote from the Bible. I think that harked back to his childhood and his reverence for the power of words.

He was fond of Shakespeare, the greatest of all English dramatists. That was the actor in him recognizing the flow and sweep of history as unfolding drama.

He loved the Senate, for in it he found that peculiar niche that suited no one better than this man from Illinois.

He followed public opinion much as a skilled coachman follows his horses with a firm hold on the reins and guiding them in the proper path.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was sincere in soul; in action, faithful; in honor, clear; his titles were honestly gained. His character, ennobled by his leadership, was approved and praised.

Now, we pause to mourn for him.

We miss him as a friend, comrade, and esteemed leader; but I know that his wife, Louella, his daughter, Joy, and other members of the family, including the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Baker), miss him in a way which we cannot measure, as loving husband and beloved father. Mrs. Fannin joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to them.

His devotion to making the marigold our national flower is almost legendary. Far fewer realized how genuinely he loved flowers and cultivated them at his home.

His wit and charm blossomed under the most difficult and trying circumstances and we all often recall the tension breaking moments which he would introduce into heated debates that served so well to cool tempers and quiet voices by a moment of laughter.

His great power was with words. His supreme skill was with the language. It will be by his words that we remember him. It was his use of the language to inspire, to lead, and direct. Many may emulate, but none can surpass his ability in this field and I feel especially powerless to use that same language, which he used so magnificently, to pay him tribute. We cannot do it.

My friend, the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Ervin), often says:

> If a man requires a eulogy, he does not deserve one, and if he deserves one, he does not require it.

So it is with my friend and departed colleague EVERETT DIRKSEN. He richly deserves an eloquent eulogy and we, by his departure, are left unable to supply it.

May I, then, quote from one of his own, wonderfully extemporized eulogies for a departed brother, and so use his words to express our emotion.

> We have lost a valuable leader. We have lost a staunch patriot. We have lost a valued public servant.
>
> All hail and farewell and a deserved salute for the constructive contribution which he made to his community, to his State, and to his country.

He was unique, Mr. President. The man who, in private, admitted he would have liked to follow a Shakespearian career, carved out for himself a far larger and more important role, and played it well.

He would have liked, I think, the short speech which Hamlet makes about his fallen father-king. In its stark simplicity yet poignant majesty the prince says what we may repeat about our departed friend, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

> He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. FRED R. HARRIS*

### OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was one of this Nation's great legislators. He pursued his legislative goals with determination, intelligence and wit, and, in doing so, he won the respect of his colleagues and the public which he served so faithfully.

We who were privileged to serve with him in the U.S. Senate gained much knowledge and insight on legislative procedures and on the powers and responsibilities of the Congress. This experience has benefited us and has benefited the Nation, for Senator DIRKSEN was more than the minority leader of the Senate. He was an individual institution in the Senate and in the Nation and was revered by all of us.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE*

### OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, few men in the history of the United States have attracted such wide-spread affection as Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN of Illinois. Indeed, the U.S. Senate thought so highly of the late minority leader that his colleagues bestowed upon him the rare honor of lying in state in the Capitol rotunda, only the fourth time such a privilege has been extended to a Member of Congress. But such was the respect felt for this distinguished man by his congressional colleagues.

When one thinks of Senator DIRKSEN, it is his unique and colorful personality that first comes to mind. Who can ever forget that deep, melodious voice as it rang through the Senate Chamber, begging attention to its every word. A thespian who could hold audiences spellbound with his forensic style, he shunned prepared texts, relying instead on his knowledge and his taste for literary embellishment.

A patriot, he was an eloquent defender of American traditions, principles and institutions.

A man of rare wit, he was a master of the anecdote. And while his great flair for political satire could be biting at times, he seldom used it as a vindictive weapon, more often than not making himself the target of his humor.

And who can ever forget his love for the marigold and his perennial struggle to make it the national flower?

While all these fond memories of Senator DIRKSEN will always hold a place for him in our hearts, it was his great legislative skills—so often hidden by his flamboyant personality—that will assure him of a place in history.

His talent for compromise and reconciliation, combined with an ability to rise above partisan politics in moments of critical importance to the United States, earned him that place.

He will probably best be remembered for his key roles in passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In both instances, he chose to ignore partisanship, delivering instead the necessary Republican votes to assure the success of these historic measures. These were truly his greatest moments.

While time has somewhat softened the shock of Senator DIRKSEN's death, I still deeply feel his loss and miss the zest and color his refreshing individuality brought not only to the Halls of Congress but to the entire Nation.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will be sorely missed, but never forgotten.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES B. PEARSON*

### OF KANSAS

Mr. President, each individual human is unique but EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was more unique than most.

Senator DIRKSEN was one of the greats of the U.S. Congress and he will be recorded in history as one of the more important public figures in the 20th century.

He was a modern man, in love with today but he was also keenly interested in and deeply respectful of the past. And one of his most important contributions was his ability to convey that interest and that respect to those of us who served with him in the Congress and to the American people as a whole. And it seems to me that this was an extremely worthwhile thing, especially today when we are undergoing such a critical reexamination of our present and our past.

His magnificent voice and soaring rhetoric were his trademark. But these characteristics merely served to complement other basic traits which were the source of his strength and the cause of his success as a man and as a servant of the public trust.

I believe he was deeply religious. I know he was, without embarrassment or sophistication, duly patriotic. He instinctively liked people and they in turn cared for him. Politics came to him naturally and I suggest that he became as skilled and as adept in the art of the possible—said to be the essence of politics—as any living man. He had an enormous capacity for hard work—a capacity which seemed to increase rather than diminish with age.

He continued to grow throughout his life and thus he became one of the most effective Senate leaders in history and in his twilight years one of the most powerful men in the Nation.

We in the Senate shall miss him as a leader, but we shall also miss him as a friend and counselor. Certainly I shall never forget his warm friendship and the wise counsel he gave to me, which was so valuable and so much appreciated during my first years in the Senate.

We all benefited from his understanding, experience, wit, and extensive knowledge of the legislative process. And we are all the worse that he is not here today.

Mr. President, there are two short statements which come about as close, I believe, to describing the essence of Ev DIRKSEN's character as any set of words can do. One is by Senator DIRKSEN's counterpart, the distinguished majority leader (Mr. Mansfield), who said of his colleague:

His word was good.

Those four words not only tell a great deal about the man but they also represent for me one of the finest tributes that can be paid a man in public life.

The other statement was by Senator DIRKSEN himself when he on one occasion remarked:

There is one debt greater than the Federal debt and that is the debt DIRKSEN owes his country.

To me, this reveals his great humility, his great patriotism, his great dedication.

We here today express our indebtedness and that of the country to Senator DIRKSEN, but for him the relationship was the other way around. This goes a long way in explaining the career of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, a dedicated statesman, an inspirational leader, a beloved friend.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN*

### OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, I join Senators today in paying tribute to a Senator who was a most distinguished Member of this body. When Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN died, we lost a great and loyal national leader, and the Senate lost an admirable and highly esteemed fellow Member.

Senator DIRKSEN's strong character was a vibrant force in this Chamber for many years. He was, in the truest sense of the word, a fine citizen, an able Senator, and a great American.

Whatever side he took during the consideration of important legislative matters, it was with the sincere belief that he was acting in the best interests of the Nation. For it was the Nation that he put first—an America which he loved and respected, a republic which he worked hard to steer along paths charted by our wise and revered Founding Fathers.

His conservative viewpoint often served as an impressive barrier against unsound proposals and untested philosophies, but he never sought to obstruct or slow the cause of real progress.

If his adherence to basic American principles and his conservatism marked him as a member of the "old school," then I earnestly hope that this brand of American thought and tradition never fades from the political scene.

EVERETT DIRKSEN had a distinctive flair for eloquent expression, a flair sometimes referred to as showmanship. This mode of conduct was a natural part of him, a manifestation of his personality and individuality—and not merely a contrivance to gain attention.

All of us were impressed by his intriguing style of expression. His eloquence, his profound logic, and his warmly human manner were strong assets in the forceful persuasion he extended in support of the causes that he chose to promote.

Two additional outstanding attributes of EVERETT DIRKSEN's were his unfaltering faith and his remarkable capacity for doing his homework well. Every Senator can testify to his drive and ability to handle intricate and complicated legislation on the Senate floor.

The people of Illinois—his native State—whom he so faithfully served, loved and respected him for what he was—a remarkable and dedicated statesman whose services to his State and to the Nation were of that order and quality as to command the highest praise and commendation.

My association with the Senator began in 1935, when I first served in the House of Representatives. He began his first term in the House on March 4, 1933, and he served in that body for 16 consecutive years. His service in the Senate began on Jan. 3, 1951. He carried out his duties and responsibilities faithfully and devotedly in Congress for 35 years.

It was also my privilege to serve with him on the Senate Committee on the Judiciary for a number of years. Serving on committees with a fellow Senator gives one an opportunity to more accurately judge his personal qualities, his statesmanship capacity, and his legislative accomplishments. I found him to be generous with his time and talents in any capacity that his services were required. He always approached his duties with sincere dedication, and he served the welfare of our country according to his concepts of its best interest and security.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a gallant champion. His vivid and influential contributions added one of the brightest chapters in the entire history of this Senate. He was a Senator who gave character and courage to all his duties in public life and who blended dignity with wit and human warmth.

His advice was constantly sought, and in giving it, he drew freely upon his extensive knowledge and rich experience. He was a man who loved nature and found much beauty in it. He could be gentle, but he could also act with the strength and determination of a man who knows no fear.

His life epitomized the essence of America—a free land where opportunity is open to all and where there are no limits to the goals which an individual can achieve. He was a living example of what can be accomplished by hard work and individual initiative in this great country of ours.

From a humble beginning, he rose to become one of the Nation's outstanding legislative leaders. His keen judgment, his colorful personality, and his sparkling oratory will be missed in this Chamber for many years to come.

I shall always remember EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN as a sagacious, resourceful, and compelling public speaker; as a gracious and eloquent colleague in the Senate Chamber; and as an experienced and capable tactician in the legislative arena. My life was enriched by having known and served with him for many years in Congress.

Mrs. McClellan joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to all members of the family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE*

### OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, the Senate today honors the memory of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. We all miss EVERETT DIRKSEN very much.

His passing took from the Senate a legislative leader of great talent and tremendous charm. We were not always together on every issue, and the same could probably be said of every Member of this body. But one could not serve in the Senate, on either side of the aisle, and not be very much aware of the presence and the influence of Ev DIRKSEN.

He possessed a nimble mind and lively spirit that enabled him to be a captivating and colorful speaker. He was in my estimation the last of the Senate's old-fashioned orators, and it is not amiss to regard him as somewhat of a legend in his own time.

Senator DIRKSEN was a gentle and thoughtful man. I was recovering from an operation the first weekend of September, the weekend that our colleague passed away. That Sunday night I received at my home, carnations, that had been ordered sent to me prior to his death as a token of remembrance and good wishes.

Even as he lay critically ill at the hospital, he was not remiss in this thoughtfulness of others. I was deeply touched by this gesture of friendship.

I join the Senate today in mourning the passing of EVERETT DIRKSEN.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.*

### OF MARYLAND

Mr. President—

> One generation shall praise Thy works to another and shall declare Thy mighty deeds.

These words from the 145th Psalm epitomize the role of the great men, whom President Nixon has described as "the common property of the country."

Quoting a eulogy of Daniel Webster and delivering one for EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, the President was himself participating in that historic sequence whereby one generation teaches another, and succeeding generations draw upon the wisdom of the ages. This process—using the light of the past to create the future—is a kind of photosynthesis of historical change. In recent years in America, perhaps the leading figure in this immemorial process has been EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

A man of Illinois, he was intimately familiar with the heroes of his State and particularly, of course, with its paramount son—Abraham Lincoln.

There were occasions when Senator DIRKSEN received almost universal acclaim, and other occasions when he seemed to stand as the only bulwark, or the only obstacle, depending on one's point of view, against some change which the rest of the country seemed to want.

But whether he was riding the crest of the wave of popularity or bucking the tide, he acted with a sense of the past and a consciousness of the scrutiny of history, strengthened in daily association with its symbols in the Capitol and in the Senate Chamber.

Now his death leaves a grand canyon in the memory, in the Senate, and in the Nation's politics. It cannot be filled, for he cannot be imitated or replaced. There is no reasonable facsimile. Nor does his career and personality easily submit to the conventional language of eulogy.

For all his wide popularity and his senatorial following, DIRKSEN ultimately stood alone, outside the political catalog, evoking laughter and indignation along with his honors—but always secure in the dignity of the mystery of his land. Looking back into the canyon of our loss, one sees a marvelous shifting of light and shadow, clouds and colors across the variegated bedrock of America. DIRKSEN's mellifluous rhetoric, his endless repertory of maneuver was a play of hues and chiaroscuro on rocks of principle, evolving, almost geologically, from the national experience.

Certainly no text of political science could have predicted or explained him. He was a product and a voice of some political and cultural alchemy of that region of the country now sometimes called the Heartland. More than a geographical area, it is a region of the national consciousness. When it changed, DIRKSEN moved, and history—in cumulative majesty—shifted. A civil rights revolution, a test ban treaty, a new internationalism were ratified. But until he moved, change stood in precarious suspension and looked back over its shoulder, nervously, at the senior Senator from Illinois, through whose bloodstream the current of our history seemed mysteriously to flow.

Now his voice is still. The country moves in a widening gyre. DIRKSEN, who had held the center, is now at rest. But he retains his hold on our imagination and our memory. Looking into the canyon, watching the clouds and shifting colors, wondering about the mystery of the man, we ponder the mystery—and the greatness—of America. And in seeking an appropriate successor to his larger role in our politics, we are surprised by the dimension of DIRKSEN's shadow, the measure of our loss.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GALE W. McGEE*

### OF WYOMING

Mr. President, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is gone from the Chamber—gone, but certainly not forgotten. Nor will he ever be, for his powerful influence over 3½ decades of public service has been indelibly imprinted on the legislative history of this great Nation. His example remains fresh today and will be remembered so long as laws are made in Washington. Indeed, his actions as a leader in this Hall present an example to those who would follow in the hope that the Government of the United States might always be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to borrow the phrase of an earlier giant in our history from Illinois.

Ev DIRKSEN's legacy to us, then, is an example of political leadership. He knew what leadership entailed. Sometimes it meant standing fast and stubbornly resisting. Other times it meant compromising—drawing together those with differing opinions and leading them to the acceptance of a common position. It even led to changing positions on matters of significant impact. For this, Ev DIRKSEN's detractors were often wont to criticize him. But his shifts in such areas as civil rights, foreign policy, and economics were not undertaken lightly. Instead, they represented much agonizing thought and careful consideration. When he acted, it was because he deemed the national interest demanded such change.

"Stronger than all the armies is an idea whose time has come," is the famous line of Victor Hugo's. No one better understood the reason for its immortality than did EVERETT DIRKSEN.

We who knew Ev DIRKSEN as a leader of men also knew him as an individual. And what an individual he was. I believe that the chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, in his prayer at the services held last month at the National Presbyterian Church, expressed the thoughts of those of us who knew Senator DIRKSEN, when he said:

> We thank Thee for Thy servant and our comrade, EVERETT, who has fought a good fight, kept the faith, finished his course and is at rest with Thee. For the nobility of his manhood, the magnanimity of his spirit, the hospitality of his mind, and the inclusiveness of his friendship we give Thee thanks. For his massive mind, his matchless speech, his powers of persuasion, and his parlia-

> mentary skills we give thanks to Thee. For his elevated patriotism and his manly piety, for his grace and dignity in public service we give thanks to Thee. For his prodigious energy spent in self-sacrificing public service, for his fortitude in suffering, and his witness to values which are everlasting, we give thanks to Thee. May the integrity of his manhood, the radiance of his character, the warmth of his personality, his gentle but subtle humor and his sense of the divine in all things human, remain as an abiding legacy for all generations . . .

Mr. President, our eulogies cannot do justice to the memory of EVERETT DIRKSEN. In recent memory, perhaps one man in our midst was capable of that. But Ev DIRKSEN is gone from our midst. And he was a humble man. Probably, he would have stuck with the words he used some years ago to describe his job and his life. He wrote:

> It might be said that a Senator's work is never done. But he would not have it otherwise, for his is the privilege of serving not only the people of his State to the best of his ability, but also to serve the Nation.

Ev DIRKSEN so served, and his life's work will long be remembered. By his example, his work goes on.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS*

### OF MARYLAND

I knew EVERETT DIRKSEN as a master legislator, a skillful adversary, a determined advocate, and a warm and good friend.

It was our lot to oppose each other almost continuously for the past 4 years on one of the central national issues of our time. In Congress and in State legislatures from one corner of our Nation to another, the fate of the one-man, one-vote rule dominated our relationship. I supported this theory of representative government. The main effort to reverse it bore his name—"the Dirksen amendment."

Senator DIRKSEN liked to win and he gave no quarter in legislative battle. But he was also magnanimous and generous. Despite our differences and our hard contests, I frequently sought his advice. He never begrudged it. He was a kind and thoughtful counselor, a gentleman, and a friend.

The news of Senator DIRKSEN's death came as a shock, for just days before he was in the Chamber, speaking with his usual eloquence. In spite of frequent illness, Senator DIRKSEN remained a superb legislator, a skilled leader, and the respected spokesman of his party in this body. The Senate will not be the same without Senator DIRKSEN. We shall miss his quick wit, his keen intelligence, and his great parliamentary skills. We shall remember him as one of the great Senate leaders of our times, and I believe that this is how he would like to be remembered.

I feel that Senator DIRKSEN's greatest moments came at the beginning of this decade. In 1962 he supported the bond issue that saved the United Nations from bankruptcy; in 1963 he backed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; and in 1964 he voted for the Civil Rights Act. In each of these instances, the Senator's support and leadership made the difference between success and failure for this landmark legislation. In each instance, Senator DIRKSEN was initially skeptical and under partisan pressure to oppose. But in each case the Senator ultimately stood above party, took a historical perspective, and moved our Nation forward. He understood that a Senator must be more than a sum of the interests of State and party. Such is the stuff of great leadership, and today we mourn the passing of a great leader.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE*

### OF HAWAII

Mr. President, the passing of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a loss to the people of America, but it was an even greater loss to his Senate colleagues. For EVERETT DIRKSEN was—more than any other Member of this body in our time—a Senator's Senator.

During his years in this body, he has left his mark on so much of the legislation which has been enacted. We in Hawaii will particularly remember him for his crucial support of some of the key issues which have confronted this Nation during our decade of statehood—as well as his support for the measure which gave us statehood. It was his support which made effective civil rights legislation a fact rather than a dream during this decade. His approval was the key to the passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. We could list many more, for during these years Senator DIRKSEN was center stage on almost every piece of major legislation considered by Congress.

He will be remembered most, however, by those who have shared these labors not for the positions he upheld or the contributions he made in the form of amendments, laudatory though so many have been, but for the inconsummate flair and skill with which he made his presence known. In support he was a shining knight—in opposition he was a lovable rascal as well as a most worthy and respected opponent.

We shall miss EVERETT DIRKSEN, as will our Nation's people. But we will carry with us a host of happy memories of the days and years that we have been privileged to share together in these legislative halls. And when most of the history of this period is long forgotten, the name of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will continue on the lips of those who follow.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. STEPHEN M. YOUNG*

### OF OHIO

Mr. President, with Senators on both sides of the aisle, I join in expressing the sincere sense of loss we feel at the absence of our friend and colleague, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

EV DIRKSEN and I first came to Congress together as freshmen Representatives in the 73d Congress, following our election in 1932. Though our views on many issues differed, we maintained a close personal friendship over the years.

EVERETT DIRKSEN's service to his country was long and illustrious. As Representative, as Senator, and as minority leader he was always most knowledgeable. It can truly be said of him that he was skilled and experienced in the science of Government.

Throughout his final few years in the Senate, he attained the heights of greatness and enjoyed the affection and admiration of millions of Americans. He suffered great pain during the last few years of his life and was frequently hospitalized. In the end he passed on painlessly, peacefully, and suddenly. Just as was written in 2 Timothy IV he could have truly said:

> I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith.

During the last 10 years of his service as a Senator of the United States, it seems probable that his speeches in the Senate and his votes as senior Senator from Illinois and minority leader of his party in support of civil rights legislation and his speeches and all-out support of ratification of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty between our Nation and the Soviet Union will be most remembered.

Ev DIRKSEN will long be remembered in the hearts of all who knew him, worked with him and had the privilege of his friendship. The Nation has lost one of its finest public servants. No words of mine can assuage the anguish and bereavement of his family, but Mrs. Young and I express our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and to their daughter, Mrs. Howard Baker, for the great loss that they, together with our Nation, have sustained in his passing.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES B. ALLEN*

### OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, I know that the people of Alabama want me to participate in honoring the memory of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, and to convey for them a sense of their high esteem for his life and works.

It is a matter of sincere regret that I cannot speak with the same authority as can Senators who over the years have enjoyed a close association and friendship with Senator DIRKSEN. I necessarily speak from the limited acquaintance of those of us who entered the Senate at the beginning of the 91st Congress.

Yet, limited as this acquaintance may be, it began from a firm foundation of respect. All Alabamians respected Senator DIRKSEN. We came to know him over the years primarily through knowledge of his positions on important national issues and for his leadership role in helping resolve those issues.

I think it a mark of the character of Senator Dirksen that Alabamians could disagree with him on particular issues, just as they disagreed among themselves, but could agree and did agree in according him utmost respect in recognition of the integrity of his motives and the sincerity of his convictions. Such a respect transcends the issues and it transcends ephemeral public opinion. Such respect is a tribute to his character, and it is evidence of no mean achievement in political leadership—one to which all of us aspire.

Mr. President, my initial respect for Senator Dirksen was quickly allied with sincere admiration—a result attributable, in part, to exposure to his eloquence. I have never listened to Senator Dirksen in debate that the experience did not call to mind the words of Montaigne, who said:

> I would have my voice not only reach my listeners but perhaps strike them through.

And just as surely as the eloquence of Senator Dirksen made his audience captive so also did his words "strike them through." But it was not alone his eloquence that I admired. I think my admiration was as much due to his incomparable dedication to the duties of a Senator and to those of minority leader in particular.

Mr. President, all of us know that responsibilities of the minority leader carry with them arduous, time-consuming duties under the best of circumstances, and we know that these can become doubly arduous and doubly important during periods of turbulent and rapid changes in our Nation. So very often as I sat and listened to Senator Dirksen, I recalled the trying circumstances under which he labored as minority leader in years past; and I came to appreciate more than ever the importance of Senator Dirksen's leadership during those crucial years.

Mr. President, Senator Dirksen served as minority leader during a period in our history when the leadership of a victorious national political party had firm control of both the executive and legislative powers of Federal Government. A majority of the members of the Supreme Court were of the same political philosophy as the victorious party in control of the executive and legislative powers. The bars of separation of powers were down. At such times there is danger that national legislation may be enacted on whim and caprice uninhibited by checks and balances. Our system of checks and balances is meaningful only so long as there is genuine separation of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Government. At the time of which I speak separation was more in appearance than in fact. During this period Senator Dirksen, in the role of minority leader, vigorously challenged each revolutionary innovation and warned of each new delegation of power. He was tireless in his efforts to check what seemed to me at the time to be an almost frenzied delegation of legislative powers without adequate safeguards on the powers delegated.

Mr. President, I believe most sincerely that unless our people are prepared to deny the past as mentor and guide that there must be in the Senate a courageous, dedicated, and competent opposition to defend fundamental principles of our Government to the end that these principles be neither abandoned nor temporarily forsaken for whatever reason. This was the role that Senator Dirksen performed so admirably and it is to his eternal credit that although overwhelmed by numbers time after time, he did not lose his taste for battle. He did not flee the fray but time and again marshaled his forces and prepared to give battle again on another front on another day.

Mr. President, these are the considerations that invoked in me an unashamed admiration of Senator Dirksen to add to my great respect for him. These considerations lead me to believe that the measure of Senator Dirksen has not yet been taken. I doubt that his contemporaries can take that measure. I suggest that from the perspective of time—when more people better understand the period in which he served as minority leader and when the real issues are dispassionately evaluated—at such time, Mr. President, I believe that many of his positions will be vindicated and that a whole Nation will gladly bestow the coveted laurel, "A Great Statesman," and revere his memory. On behalf of all of the people of Alabama I salute his memory.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON*

### OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, the voice we are missing here today is that of Everett Dirksen himself. Since his untimely departure, the Chamber has been without the eloquence and soaring rhetoric that only he could impart. His style was perfectly suited to occasions such as this today, when an extra measure of grace and spirit was needed. And so it is today, when we miss him the most, that we need him the most.

I welcomed Ev DIRKSEN to the Senate in 1951, now almost two decades ago. During the course of those years, he became and remained a valuable friend and trusted colleague. Although we sat on opposite sides of the aisle, and although EVERETT DIRKSEN was known as a shrewd and effective operator when the need arose, he never let petty partisanship dominate him.

In retrospect, we could recall his invaluable contributions to the passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, or the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or innumerable other monumental pieces of legislation. These historic legislative landmarks give permanent proof of Senator DIRKSEN's abiding sense of decency and of his statemanship in the national service. It is because of these contributions that he will be remembered by future generations.

And yet, for those of us who knew EVERETT DIRKSEN well, and worked with him day by day, we find that we remember him as much or more for his never failing wit, his flowing eloquence, that indefinable quality we know simply and inadequately as "style." This is how we knew him, and this is how we will remember him.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN*

### OF WYOMING

Mr. President, millions of words have been spoken and written about the subject of today's observations. And within recent weeks many thousands of others have been added to those of past years, in connection with the death of Senator DIRKSEN.

The passion of momentary judgment during the years of his life, particularly in the zenith of his career as Republican leader of the Senate, and the somber assessments that always accompany the finality of death, when all contest is stilled, will doubtless both be measured by the historians of the future in their judgment of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. What we say here today no doubt will add little to their evaluations.

Nonetheless, I should like to offer my comments about this kindly, dedicated, and worthy man and colleague, for what ever worth they may be, for the moment or for the future, and based on my comparatively brief relationship with him over a period of some 2½ years.

My lasting impression will always be, first, of one imbued with kindness and with a tolerant and generous regard of his fellow man, and for that person's foibles and entrapments. Ev was particularly concerned with those seeking to cope with difficult or unfamiliar situations.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was essentially a kind man—with a kindness that was not just the basic distillation of sympathy, but of solicitude combined with a desire to be helpful as well, where assistance might be rendered when indicated.

For that very reason, he also had to be a simple man despite the popular impression conveyed by many observers; for it was clear that his value system was one based on fundamentals long established in our society.

His obvious and unrestrained love of a particular type of flower has been pointed to in various ways; yet this esthetic, spiritual association with the marigold also establishes both his basic simplicity and his reverence for the mysteries and wonders of nature.

This real quality in his makeup also has been misconstrued in his political leadership, especially with respect to his occasional tendency to change his mind about an issue; yet, had he not been an honest and simple man with the moral courage to alter a previous decision or stand on a matter, then he would have been something else. It is one thing to remain steadfast in one's views; it is something else to refuse to consider or to accept the advice, suggestions, recommendations, or views of others.

In his lifetime, some described his great power of oratory, one of the most remarkable gifts that has been given to any public leader in the world in our time, as old fashioned. But none denied its effect. There were frequent descriptive references to his voice as organ toned, indicative of the fact that mere words failed to adequately convey the real measure of its power. Senator Dirksen was likened to giants of the past such as Henry Clay or, more often, Daniel Webster; but he was none of these. He was, in his own right, his own man—and history will so record him.

Here in this Chamber, in this great building that symbolizes our Nation and its works, he for many years added immense dignity to all legislative endeavor. His keen mind cut through the emotion that can so often cloud issues in debate, and helped lay the facts before those who required them—with persuasive logic.

Everett Dirksen was the minority leader, but he was adept at compromise without forsaking basic principle, and often he was the leader of the entire Senate—a Senate willing to be led at times by a minority leader of his integrity and dedication to our great country.

He was the leader of a loyal opposition during terribly trying years when it could be extremely unpopular to offer opposition; yet his strong stands gave the Senate and the people of America time to reflect and reason—time to hear all sides of a question and often time to reconsider—and to find a better way.

History, ultimately, will record that Everett Dirksen was more often right than wrong; and even when wrong, he caused Americans to think and to find the path that was the right one. For that reason, his contributions to all of us—but above all, to the glory and majesty of the United States of America, which he revered—are vast and immeasurable.

He will always be loved by all of us; but most of all, he should be loved by the people of America, for whom he rendered so much in a relatively brief span of years.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY*

### OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in the Senate in paying tribute to one of the most capable and hardworking and forceful Members ever to serve in this body. Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois set a standard of service to his State, to his party, and to his Nation, to which all of us can aspire, but which few of us can ever hope to achieve.

He had a talent for leadership, an insight into history, and a capacity for action which together enabled him to play a key role in one of the most productive eras the Congress of the United States has ever known. He loved the two-party system and he worked hard to keep it strong and to use its power at the right times and in the right places. But he often recognized that national interests could supersede partisan interests, and on those occasions he would not hesitate to put partisan interests aside.

For those of us who entered the Senate when his star was already in its ascendancy, he was a teacher and an example and an inspiration. He tutored us, just by being himself, in the art of eloquence, the skill of advocacy, the science of compromise, and the power of persistence. As a national official, as a Senator, as a lawyer, and as a man, he was of first rank. We will all remember him well, and we will miss his presence here.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, how a man is remembered often rests in the legacy he leaves behind him. Our late beloved colleague, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, left to his country a legacy of public service and a legacy of life that will not be forgotten.

With undue modesty EVERETT DIRKSEN once characterized himself as "a garden variety Republican." We who knew him and served by his side in the Senate would never accept this as an accurate description of the man. Surely, he was no less than a skilled legislator, a powerful politician, and, as President Nixon said in his eulogy, "a remarkably likable man."

Throughout his years of public service, he deftly combined legislative ability and political acumen to leave us his legacy of leadership.

Few men equal his accomplishments in a congressional career spanning nearly 40 years. Through dedication, hard work, and a disciplined mind, EVERETT DIRKSEN quickly rose to prominence as a leader in the other body where he served for 16 years. The Senate, however, was his natural arena and, since his election to this body in 1950, no other Member equaled his leadership capacity.

As a legislator, he believed in the most basic of legislative principles—acceptable compromise. He said:

> Legislation is always the art of the possible. If you follow a course of solid opposition, you can create a stalemate but that is not in the best interests of the country.

With this attitude he pored over bills, line by line, to create acceptable compromises. With this attitude, he steered critical legislation through Congress such as the United Nations Bond Bill of 1962, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Without Senator DIRKSEN's "art of the possible," these major legislative victories may not have occurred.

As a political leader, Senator DIRKSEN devoted his considerable energies in and out of Congress to the Republican Party. For almost three decades he worked for Republican election victories. In the Senate, he was fated to serve always as the minority leader—leader of the loyal opposition. But, he became a friend and counsel of Presidents and no Member of this body had a greater impact during the years of Democratic administrations. His influence extended far beyond the numbers of the minority party.

Senator DIRKSEN's conception of what was best for our country changed throughout his service. He often said that "change is eternal" and he was the first to admit that his earlier opinions did not stand up. This flexibility, often in the face of conflicting pressures from his constituency, was respected for no one doubted his devotion to this country. In 1963, Senator DIRKSEN surprised the Senate by voting for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, a treaty he had previously opposed. His explanation reveals the independence of a man never too old to change his mind even amidst strong opposition.

He said:

> It is no easy vote. In my office are probably 40,000 letters, and on my Capitol desk are petitions containing 10,000 names in opposition to the treaty. But I must equate those against the whole number of electors in my state. Moreover, I have admonished them over and over again that, regardless of the entreaties and presentations that have been made to me, I feel that I must

> follow a type of formula laid down by Edmund Burke, the great parliamentarian and prime minister of Britain, when he said it was his business to consult with his people, but it would be a betrayal of his conscience and a disservice to them if he failed to exercise his independent judgment.
>
> So today my statement that I shall support the treaty is an exercise of my independent judgment based upon what I think is best for my country.

Those of us today who feel we must exercise independent judgment have a firm precedent in the life of Senator DIRKSEN, who often exercised strong convictions in the face of strong opposition. As Senator DIRKSEN once said:

> We must stand up and be counted in our generation.

Cooperation, enthusiasm, and strength were part of EVERETT DIRKSEN, the leader. These qualities were also inherent in his legacy of life—in EVERETT DIRKSEN the "remarkably likable man."

I shall always remember him as a man who enjoyed life—a man who went about his life's work with joy and enthusiasm. This enjoyment pervaded his diverse activities no matter if that work happened to be steering a major piece of legislation through the Congress, orating before an enthralled audience on subjects ranging from marigolds to missiles, tending to his garden at home, or even making best selling record albums.

This enthusiasm was matched by a personal strength and determination which allowed him to overcome critical physical affliction. He confounded medical experts predicting loss of his eyesight. He retired from the other body, spending 2 years to recover from this affliction. When he recovered, he ran for the Senate and defeated the majority leader in that election. Later, he was continually bothered by a succession of recurring illnesses. But he never allowed these difficulties to interfere with his life's work and succeeded in spite of them.

Which one of us never felt Senator DIRKSEN's strength and enthusiasm? Because of this he was an effective leader. But because of it he also was a friend. No one of us agreed with him on every issue. And so we would drift into opposing camps for a time. But it was his style and ultimately his strength to never oppose so vigorously as to lose a friend.

We have lost a friend. We have lost a leader. But in this loss, we feel a deep respect and admiration for his memory.

Many have said that Senator DIRKSEN was a product of an earlier era, a touch of Americana in the space age. These phrases are no disservice to his memory. He served his country and spent his life with a robustness and vigor that could only be the spirit of America. He faced the failures and successes of his life with a dogged determination to correct and perfect himself. This is the essence of his legacy. May we take this legacy and have the strength to apply it in our deliberations as public officials and individual men and women.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT*

### OF UTAH

Mr. President, the death of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN last month brought a sense of loss to the Senate—and to me in a very personal way—that will be felt for a long time to come. This Chamber will always remain a little empty without him.

Senator DIRKSEN's untimely passing has deprived the Senate and the Nation of one of its most vibrant personalities. He had come to be almost everyone's image of what the U.S. Senate was and still is.

It was not just the commanding presence, resonant voice, or patented DIRKSEN style that made him so vital. It was rather his forthright love of America and her noblest traditions, and his devotion to his service here on behalf of the people of Illinois.

He was unquestionably fired by a deep and very real patriotism, which fortuitously was recorded for posterity in the record albums he cut. Although some cynical commentators derided Senator DIRKSEN's unabashed Americanism, those of us who knew him well can testify to its efficacy in motivating this great statesman to help make possible the landmark legislation associated with his name.

For all his flamboyance and drive, it was Senator DIRKSEN's great genius for necessary political compromise both within his own party and between the two political parties that resulted in so much significant legislation.

On a personal basis, it was an honor to be among those who came into the Senate with EVERETT DIRKSEN in 1951, to have served with him on the Senate Finance Committee, and to have lived in the same apartment building with him and Mrs. Dirksen for many years. And, in the Senate, it was a privilege to work alongside this giant of a man whose tolerance and understanding provided so much to all of us. Truly, he was a Senator's Senator.

Senator Dirksen dedicated more than a third of his life to service in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Although the system inevitably carries on in the absence of any man, his passing has left a void in each of us.

The Senate is poorer for his passing.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial published in the Salt Lake Tribune of September 9, following Senator Dirksen's death.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

### Grand Old Man of Politics

No question about it. Everett McKinley Dirksen will be missed. He was one of the most powerful men in Washington, a past master of political strategy, a resourceful party leader, and, perhaps most important of all, a man who was not afraid to change his mind. His death this week at the age of 73 will be mourned across the nation.

When Dirksen was elected to the House of Representatives in 1932, he was an isolationist, as were many of his fellow Americans. But the nation changed and so did he, and as a senator he was a staunch supporter of the foreign policies of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. He also moved from conservatism to a middle-of-the-road position as the years passed.

Dirksen served more than a quarter of a century on Capital Hill—16 years in the House followed after a two-year "recess," by 19 in the Senate where, in 1959, he was chosen majority leader. A year later, however, the Republicans lost control of the Senate and for the rest of his career he was minority leader.

Ordinarily, that is not a position of much influence except in party affairs. Dirksen played the game differently. Democrats Kennedy and Johnson often relied on Republican Dirksen for help on legislation and he usually delivered. He rallied the votes needed to break the filibuster against the civil rights bill of 1964 and played a key role in winning ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty. Interestingly enough, on several occasions Republican Nixon found himself at odds with Republican Dirksen.

Much has been made of Dirksen's oratorical style which was florid and somewhat old-fashioned. That may have been one reason the senator adopted it. He was a showman who thrived on attention. He also knew how to use the English language with telling effect. When he spoke, despite the clouds of words, his meaning was perfectly clear.

We leave it to the historians to add up the pluses and minuses of DIRKSEN's career. But we can with confidence say that he leaves a great vacancy. How could it be otherwise when he was at the center of affairs for so long and so intimately involved in almost everything that went on in Washington? He was in truth the grand old man of American politics.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. BARRY GOLDWATER*

### OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, to try to express my thoughts and my emotions wrapped up with EVERETT DIRKSEN is an impossible task from the very outset, because my mind does not know the words to express the feeling in my heart.

I first remember this wonderful man on the roof of the Adams Hotel in downtown Phoenix on a bright, moonlit night, the sky studded with the brilliant stars of the desert. He was talking to me, urging me to run for the U.S. Senate, and this was my first interest in obtaining the position I now hold. I decided that night to do it, and told him I would, and from that moment there was just a wonderful, warm, and close friendship that few men ever have the pleasure of experiencing.

He once called himself my political godfather, and I would have to admit that this is true in every sense of the word, because I cannot remember a time when I went to him for advice and counsel that he did not give it his wholehearted wisdom. I remember, in particular, his counseling me during the troubled days of 1963 when I was trying to make up my mind whether or not to seek our party's nomination, and his advice was always sound, was never pushy, was always restrained, but the message came through that he thought I should do it, and this decision on his part is one of the major reasons I made the race.

I remember the night he came to my apartment in 1964 to read to me the nominating speech he had prepared after I had asked him if he would place my name in nomination in San Francisco. I do not mind saying that there were tears in my eyes as he read this straightforward, simple, and plain message of nomination, and the night that he made it in the Cow Palace, in San Francisco, will remain with me forever as one of the highest moments of my life.

I followed him as chairman of the senatorial campaign committee and his help was ever present. He volunteered and served briefly on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee to help us work out a bill to help end the abuses practiced by some of the leaders of labor. No one will ever know his major contributions to the conference that produced the Landrum-Griffin bill, and I feel that he, with all deference to the others, more than any other member, was instrumental in putting together a bill which readily won the approval of both Houses.

Having served with him in politics for so long, it is not easy to think of continuing to serve without him. He had become so much a part of my life and the life of the Senate. We will all miss him; I perhaps, a little more than most of the rest. As I said at the outset, I wish there were words to convey what I really feel, but I think as Louella and the other members of his family read this, they will know in their hearts what I am trying to say.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HOWARD W. CANNON*

### OF NEVADA

Mr. President, once again we stand on this floor in sorrow to pay our respects to a departed colleague—a true, loyal and devoted patriot of our Nation.

The many years EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN served as statesman and Republican leader attest to his devotion to our great Nation and to the well-being of its citizenry.

He was motivated by the highest principles of representative government of which he was a part. He translated his firm belief in the basic tenets of democracy into actions which benefited the Nation, his State, and his constituency.

He was an American who cultivated the chivalric virtues of public life—love of combat in statesmanship, high sense of honor, practical acceptance of the standards of party loyalty, and acceptance of political life as a game to be played according to the rules.

Senator DIRKSEN's service to his country will be sorely missed by his colleagues as well as the Nation. Presidents leaned on EVERETT DIRKSEN to provide the needed margin of support in some of the most important and historical legislation of our times. His eloquence and wit often cut through to the heart of our complex national issues and exposed the core of these problems to the American people.

The memory of EVERETT DIRKSEN will long live in these Halls and in the Nation. To his family I extend my deepest sympathy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL*

### OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, in the span of more than three and a half decades in which the people of Georgia have permitted me to serve in this body, I have had a unique opportunity to be closely associated with a great many Senators. High on the list of those whose memory I shall always treasure is our late colleague and my distinguished friend, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

While there may have been some who were as colorful, he was unique among the figures who have passed across this stage. Through the miracle of modern communications, he was a familiar figure in every household in the country and his characteristic style and oratory endeared him to the American people. The affection with which he was held was as great in Winder, Ga., as it was in Pekin, Ill. He was loved and respected by the public at large and, as a result, the respect of the American people for this body was enhanced.

When he spoke, the Nation listened and his eloquence was a source of national strength. His voice broke through the barrier of cynicism that characterizes so much of the spoken and written word today, and what he had to say about the values and traditions that we as a nation cherish was good for Americans to hear.

As much as he was a man of the public, he was also a Senate man and a fierce guardian of the qualities and characteristics that set this institution apart from other legislative bodies. It was always a comforting feeling to be on the same side with him on any issue and his passing has left a void in this Chamber that we can ill afford.

I feel uniquely qualified to speak about one of his more admirable traits—his capacity for dealing with physical infirmities. He had the tenacity and drive to keep his shoulder to the wheel in spite of discomfort and suffering, and he was fighting to return to his leadership desk when he received his final call. We often swapped treatments and worldly remedies, but in the final analysis he always knew his physical well-being was in the hands of providential power. I believe I know how he accepted death because I knew so well how he had lived.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE*

### OF MAINE

Mr. President, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was a skillful, resourceful, and eloquent spokesman for his party and for the causes to which he dedicated his life.

To those of us who fought battles against him from the other side of the aisle, he was fair and he was thorough.

On other occasions, I had the honor to participate in Senate debate on the side which Senator DIRKSEN helped to lead. I know that if it were not for Senator DIRKSEN there may not have been a Civil Rights Act in 1964. I know that if it were not for Senator DIRKSEN there may not have been a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

The minority leader never deserted what he believed to be the best interest of the American people. And for that reason, few public figures have ever generated greater affection from so many Americans.

Mrs. Dirksen and her family have my deepest sympathies, and his colleagues and the public will always miss his presence in the Senate Chamber.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. PERCY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, I believe that I can speak for hundreds of thousands if not millions of women in Illinois who not only knew Everett Dirksen, but also have known his wife, Louella Dirksen. They have heard her speak, and they have seen her stand in, on occasion, for Everett Dirksen when he was unable to appear. She has traveled with him through the years throughout the State of Illinois. The affection and regard in which she is held, and the admiration the people of Illinois have for her, know no bounds. It would not be proper, in the eulogies that have been offered, to close without paying great tribute to Louella Dirksen, not only for what she has meant to our State, but for what she meant to Everett Dirksen. At times of illness, at times of disappointment and at times of despair, she always stood by his side and provided the necessary resilience and inspiration to help and sustain him.

His daughter, Joy Baker, has shared a life of politics. She had, I suppose, the same fortune that children of other politicians have: She saw less of her father than she otherwise would have. But she has been understanding and patient, and a great contributor; and she certainly knew what she was getting into when she married a politician, and that politician became a Member of this body.

The fact that we are politicians does not necessarily mean, though, we are away from our children more, perhaps, than people in business and other professions, that we cannot inspire them; and certainly Joy Baker has had the opportunity to be inspired, not only by her father but by her husband.

Senator Dirksen's great pride in his son-in-law and colleague, Senator Howard Baker, was apparent for all to see. They shared mutual respect and admiration.

Lastly, Everett Dirksen's two grandchildren, Darek and Cynthia, were the great joys of his life. Nothing pleased him more than to be able to be with them, to tell them stories, and to expound to them on life, and they had great affection and regard for him. I was very pleased indeed that they were able to be present in the Capitol today, as they have been many times before, to observe their grandfather work in the place he loved to be, the floor of the U.S. Senate.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. BIRCH BAYH*

### OF INDIANA

For 35 years EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN unselfishly and devotedly served his nation as an elected representative with honor, dignity and everlasting credit. Now he has been removed from our midst. Although his influence upon the work of the Senate and on federal legislation will endure for generations, the voice of one of our most eloquent members will no longer echo within these halls. The loss of this remarkable statesman from the land of Lincoln is mourned not only by his colleagues but by the general public which respected and admired him for his many lasting contributions to the general public.

Endowed with a brilliant legislative mind, blessed with an entertaining sense of humor, and gifted with a distinctive style of oratory, Senator DIRKSEN became a legend within our times. He continually endeavored to serve the best interests of the nation through his leadership and support for countless measures of significance, whether sponsored by his party or not, which he believed would be of public benefit. He was truly a patriot, dedicating his life to the formulation and enactment of legislation designed to improve society and the common weal.

It was my pleasure to serve for nearly seven years on the Judiciary Committee and several of its sub-committees with Senator DIRKSEN. Although our positions on policy issues did not always concur, I found him to be a remarkable man and a devoted servant of the people, always searching for the best solutions to all problems confronting us. He was noted for his reverence for the law and his belief in upholding the fundamental concepts and basic provisions of the United States Constitution. I am personally indebted to Senator DIRKSEN for his work on the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, especially his assistance in helping secure Congressional approval of the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

In later years Senator DIRKSEN exhibited his many diversified talents through occasional public entertainment appearances. He performed in this capacity with unmatched skill. His ability to find humor hidden within the most trying issues, his distinguished oratorical style, and his flamboyant charm endeared him to the hearts of all America. Seldom has a member of Congress been more respected or better known by people from all sections of the country as well as his home state.

The Senate and the nation suffered a grievous loss with the passing of Senator DIRKSEN. The citizens of Indiana join me in expressing our sadness at the death of this great man and in extending to Mrs. Dirksen, her family, and to all the citizens of Illinois our deepest sympathy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.*

### OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, I deeply regret that I was unable to be present at the memorial service for our late colleague, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

EVERETT DIRKSEN did not go gentle into that good night.

With advancing years, his light grew even brighter. As illness crept upon him, his spirit, his will, his great intellect raged against the idea of a dying light—until the tragic and sudden end when he could rage no more. If his life had great meaning for those he loved, and who loved him, his absence has greater meaning. EVERETT DIRKSEN'S empty chair is a symbol of the untruth of that great maxim which in our overzealous modesty or our attempt to avoid duties, we sometimes quote too easily: the adage that "no man is indispensable." I think we who served with him shall find that this man was indispensable and that his place will not be filled. Certainly the Senate will never be the same.

This was a man placed by history, by circumstances, and by his own vast talents in a unique position. It is one of the blessings of our

Constitution and our system of government that at a critical moment, such a man is cast into the American political process, to help mold and eventually to help govern it. This Senator from Illinois was one of those who truly helped to govern. He held power, and not just power in a structured, legal sense. Had he chosen that path, he might, I believe, have been President of the United States, for surely he had the requisite qualities of mind and heart and an uncanny sense of the popular will. Rather, his power lay in those incalculable and intangible weapons of experience, of accumulated wisdom, of infinite ability to influence and persuade others to his view.

For the young people, especially those in Illinois, who may find him in their history books, it should be emphasized how proudly this man brought to his national service the sum total of his experiences and his successes under our form of government. As a youth, he knew poverty and he worked hard to achieve his education.

He served in the Army in World War I on the western front where he was constantly exposed to enemy fire, a fact which helped him to develop a unique outlook on life and its brevity. He served 16 years in the House of Representatives and 19 years in the Senate. He was minority leader, a member of the Judiciary and Finance Committees and of the Special Committee on Aging. For the people of Illinois, he performed constant services, officially and unofficially.

Many people have said he was an old-fashioned man. Of one thing we can be sure, his life, while full of rare grace and style, was no anachronism. He was the embodiment of the truth that the greatest fulfillment of man's God-given abilities is realized through meaningful service to his fellowmen and through his relationships with society. In this age, when many about us cry of alienation and irrelevancy, EVERETT DIRKSEN's life testifies to total involvement with the social and political processes of our society. He believed deeply that these processes are relevant for the problems of today. Endowed with an innate sense of what is enduring, he did not dismiss modernity.

Devoted to the ideals of constitutional liberty, he fought in the Senate to assure that under our form of government the individual will never be irrelevant.

While he helped to fashion many laws, it might be said that his greatest contribution to freedom was his prevention of passage of ill-advised laws which would have done violence to our political liberty.

He was a family man, a religious man, a professional man, a political man, a man who gloried in the happinesses of life that come with love of friends and family, with the beauties of nature, and with service to his country. We shall not see his like again.

Mrs. Ervin joins me in extending deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and to members of his family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK CHURCH*

### OF IDAHO

Mr. President, it is appropriate that we set aside time to pay our respects to the late Republican leader of the Senate, who served his party and his country in such a memorable way.

Everett Dirksen brought the embellishment of the past to the politics of the present. His grandiloquence made him a unique figure, an authentic product of an earlier period who remained prominent and powerful to the moment of his death.

We will not see the likes of him again.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK E. MOSS*

### OF UTAH

Mr. President, our late beloved colleague, Everett Dirksen, is sorely missed by all of us on both sides of the aisle. As a member of the same college fraternity with the late Senator, I feel that we shared an additional closeness.

Aside from his expertise in performing his senatorial duties, Senator Dirksen brought great joy and laughter to this body at a time when laughter and joy are becoming more and more scarce. The melodious tones drifting throughout this Chamber on the merits of the marigold versus the rose, or any other bloom, to be our national flower afforded us a much needed relief from the crises facing the Nation, both here and abroad. It helped give us a new perspective.

As one commentator put it, the passing of Senator DIRKSEN may be the marking of the end of an era—an era of great oratory and debate where a politician was distinguished more by his performance on the Senate floor than his performance before the television camera. The commentator also intimated that when a bust of Senator DIRKSEN is placed in the Capitol with his craggy face and fly-away hair, he will certainly stand out from the newer crewcut models—though, he added, it will certainly save on plaster.

I miss Senator DIRKSEN for many reasons, not the least being his splendid humor and fine wit.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT*

### OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, beyond doubt, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was one of the most memorable individuals ever to serve in the Senate.

He was a talented and vigorous leader and an influential Senator. All of us know that he played an important role in some of the most significant legislation passed by this body in recent years. I recall particularly his contribution in securing ratification of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963.

His influence was not, of course, limited to the Senate. The DIRKSEN style was well known throughout the country, and he was highly regarded by millions of Americans.

EVERETT DIRKSEN served in Congress for more than 34 years, more than half of that time in the Senate. For 10 years he had the burdensome responsibility of serving as his party's leader in the Senate. During this period, I had numerous occasions to visit with EVERETT DIRKSEN, and always found him cordial and responsive in his attitude. While we did not always agree on all important public matters, he never allowed bitterness or ill feeling to enter into the debate or discussion of these differences. He had an unusual gift for friendship, and a unique memory for interesting anecdotes. I always found him to be one of the most entertaining and interesting companions, especially when the day was over, that I have ever known.

The loss to his family, to the Senate, to the people of Illinois, and to the Nation is certainly a great one. He is destined to be long remembered.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ALAN BIBLE*

### OF NEVADA

Mr. President, the Senate of the United States has lost one of its most able and influential leaders. Each of us has lost a friend. America has lost a great citizen.

Everett Dirksen was unique. In death, as in life, he defies comparison. Perhaps Daniel Webster was his forensic equal, and perhaps his effectiveness as a Senate minority leader had precedent, but never has there been another who projected the diverse personality characteristics of this remarkable man.

America loved him, not for his stunning eloquence alone, nor for his undisputed skill as a lawmaker. He was loved for his human qualities: humor, warmth, affection—all generously shared by an unfailingly generous human. He was quick to tell a joke on himself, and he could place issues in proper perspective with a few words of gentle humor. It was possible to disagree with Everett Dirksen politically; it was not possible to dislike him personally. He was that kind of man to us, and to the American people.

But we cannot eulogize the man without paying equal tribute to his deeds. As the Washington Post perceptively observed, Everett Dirksen's colorful personality sometimes threatened to overshadow his substantial legislative achievements. Those of us who knew him well, and worked with him over the years, are best qualified to pass judgment on those achievements. And I think all of us would agree that he was a great legislator and a great leader. The imprint of his labor will survive us all.

Mr. President, I am proud to have been a contemporary of Everett Dirksen, and I shall always treasure the warmth of his friendship. He earned our respect, our admiration, and a lasting place in the pages of American history.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE McGOVERN*

### OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I regret that I was away on official business when the eulogies of our late esteemed colleague, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, were offered on the Senate floor. I should like to add a few thoughts to what has already been said about this illustrious and remarkable man.

I have always felt that Senator DIRKSEN's most enduring contributions were his efforts on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and civil rights. It is doubtful whether either of these landmark accomplishments in the Senate would have been possible without the leadership and the powerful voice of Senator DIRKSEN. I especially recall his speech closing the debate on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It was one of the three or four most eloquent and moving statements that it has been my privilege to hear on the Senate floor.

Mr. President, on the day that Senator DIRKSEN died, I was speaking at Libertyville, Ill., to a large rally sponsored jointly by the Democratic reform commission, of which I am chairman and the Illinois reform effort under the leadership of Adlai Stevenson III. It became my responsibility to announce to this Illinois audience the death of their senior Senator. I shall never forget the hush which fell over that partisan Democratic audience as they thought about our common mortality and those fundamental concerns that cut across political lines.

Mr. President, I salute Senator DIRKSEN for a long career in public service, marked by good humor, imagination, and devotion to the national interest. My sympathy goes to Mrs. Dirksen and to other members of the DIRKSEN family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER*

### OF KENTUCKY

Mr. President, I could not be in the Senate on the day when the Senate held its memorial session for the late Senator EVERETT

McKinley Dirksen. Today, I would like to pay my respect, inadequate as it is, to our late colleague, leader, and friend.

It seems to me that Everett Dirksen symbolized, more distinctly than any modern political leader, the story of America. The son of immigrant parents, he made the hard and continuing struggle to help his family, for an education, and for a start in business life. Once finding the field—that of politics and participation in government which he loved—again he made his way, step by step, from local government to the House and Senate, to leadership of his party, and leadership in the country.

Everett Dirksen was ever conscious and appreciative of the truth that the United States had provided to him opportunity for growth and for a valuable life. He was proud that he had been able to contribute his endeavors and his abilities to our country, which, more than any country in the world, provides opportunity to those who seek it. This pride and appreciation was stated by him in many ways and often on the Senate floor. He felt and believed in patriotism. Often he referred to his military service in Europe in World War I with pride, a service in which personal desires and plans had been submerged in a cause greater than himself.

Everett Dirksen was a man who held no grudges or enmities against those who opposed him. There was a gentleness in his nature—a gentleness which gave a completeness to a life and spirit which could fight hard for the causes in which he believed.

The people of Kentucky held Everett Dirksen in great affection. He came to Kentucky often, talked to the people, mingled with them and they felt that he was one of them.

Our thoughts turn to his great wife and to his daughter, to whom he was devoted, and to his grandchildren to whom he often referred in speeches, voicing his hopes for the future of our country. His life was the story of America.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CARL T. CURTIS*

### OF NEBRASKA

Mr. President, a feeling of inadequacy comes over me when I attempt to eulogize Everett McKinley Dirksen. He was a most unusual man. Senator DIRKSEN was no political accident. He was a genius in the field of government. He could analyze something in depth and when he rose to speak he had no equals.

Historians will, for many, many years, delve into the record and write concerning the life and works of Senator DIRKSEN. In these brief remarks I shall not attempt to compete with the historians. I do wish to make some personal observations.

Senator DIRKSEN was a kind man. He was interested in his colleagues. He was concerned about their families. When misfortune, illness, or sorrow struck, EVERETT DIRKSEN was a compassionate friend to all.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was fond of little children and young people. Busy as he was, he often found time to encourage a youngster or a young person. His colleagues would often seek him out as a leader to discuss matters with him. I never heard of an instance where he did not see them, take all the time that was necessary, listen to them intently, and do his very best to be helpful. EVERETT DIRKSEN will be remembered by countless people as a helpful friend.

The melodious voice of Senator DIRKSEN brought inspiration to millions of people. His oratory was not mechanical. It was not hollow. His words emanated from a great mind and a big heart. EVERETT DIRKSEN loved people.

When I came to Congress following the election of 1938, EVERETT DIRKSEN was one of the bright stars in the House of Representatives. All of us were drawn by the magic of his personality. We were fascinated with his grasp of public issues and encouraged by his abiding faith and his devotion to sound principles.

Throughout the history of our Republic some of our greatest men did not serve as President. We could mention Benjamin Franklin, Henry Clay, Douglas MacArthur, Daniel Webster, Robert Taft, and many others. Another name of one of America's all-time greats has now been added to that list. I refer to our friend EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

To Mrs. Dirksen, to their daughter, and to the grandchildren, and to all of the loved ones of Senator DIRKSEN, we extend our deepest sympathy. We urge that they take comfort in the inspiring words of faith so often proclaimed by our departed friend, Senator DIRKSEN. His was a deep faith, rooted in the Holy Scriptures from which he so frequently quoted. Senator DIRKSEN's proposal for a prayer amendment to the Constitution was symbolic of his faith and his love for America.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD*

### OF OREGON

Mr. President, the death of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN signaled the end of a distinguished career in the Congress of the United States. First as a U.S. Representative, and then as a U.S. Senator, Senator DIRKSEN charted a course of leadership which was admired by many and which will be recorded in history as among the most effective in the 20th century.

In the course of becoming one of the most powerful men in American public life, he learned the joys of victory and the frustrations of defeat. In the process of becoming a knowledgeable spokesman for the cause he espoused, his voice became as American as apple pie. Eloquent, personal, sometimes idealistic in approach, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN has left a visible imprint on mankind. His presence will be missed. He was a champion in life and remains a champion in death.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. SPIRO T. AGNEW*

### PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

Few men command an overwhelming spiritual presence. The late Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was such a man. While language was important to him and he used words with a rare grace, ideas were central to him and inspired his eloquence. While appearance and stature were important to him, his strength was generated by his character and his image was lighted by his soul. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN did not just sound like a Senator should sound or look like a Senator should look. He exemplified a Senator in his manner, his action, his work.

Senator Dirksen was a consummate politician and an extraordinary legislator, because he knew that the heart of law and politics was people. And he understood people. He not only represented them, but dedicated his great gift of expression to articulate and defend their values.

That he was a successful man and leader is a matter of fact. Even more, he was a man for all seasons; interested in all things, comfortable with all men. He was a warm and generous person who loved his family and his country with a stirring intensity. He gave much of himself to others; he was a fine teacher, an excellent ally and an admirable opponent.

It is not just the United States Senate or the Republican Party but all America which is less for his death. Yet, there is comfort. We are a better, stronger Nation for his wisdom. We not only enjoyed the years of his leadership, but know that he, too, enjoyed being a leader. We are grateful whenever we see a deserving man live to be a legend in his own time.

Senator Dirksen often quoted Abraham Lincoln, not only because he was a President, a Republican or a citizen of Illinois; but because both men shared a profound faith in America and a philosophy that was so purely American. Therefore, in eulogizing the late Senator there can be no more fitting conclusion than these words of President Lincoln: "I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives. I like to see a man live in it so that his place will be proud of him."

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. PERCY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, on September 9, 1969, the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo, N. Dak., adopted by unanimous vote a resolution expressing their sympathy upon the untimely passing on of our beloved colleague, Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois.

I ask unanimous consent that their resolution be printed in the Record.

### RESOLUTION

Whereas, It was with profound sorrow that the City of Fargo learned of the untimely demise of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN; and

Whereas, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN contributed much to the development of the United States of America and to the shaping of policies of our Government; and

Whereas, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN had a unique style, manner and personality which lent a certain delightfulness and warmth to the political process so frequently missing.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo does hereby extend its condolences to the family of the late Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, the people of Illinois, and the United States Senate and does offer its appreciation for the contributions made by Senator DIRKSEN to the Country.

Be it further resolved, That this resolution be inscribed upon the permanent records of the proceedings of the Board and certified copies forwarded to the family of the late Senator DIRKSEN, the People of Illinois and the United States Senate.

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
*Mayor and President, Board of City Commissioners, Fargo, N. Dak.*

## ADDRESS BY HON. RALPH T. SMITH

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an excellent letter entitled "Farewell to Dirksen From a School Boy," written by Doug Frazer.

[From the Moline (Ill.) Daily Dispatch, Sept. 23, 1969]

### FAREWELL TO DIRKSEN FROM A SCHOOL BOY

DEAR EDITOR: Politics, the saying goes, is the art of the possible, and in the world's preeminent deliberative body, Sen. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a practitioner of the possible "par excellence." With the late Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio, Sen. DIRKSEN probably was the most widely respected Senator of his generation.

Yet, whereas Sen. Taft was revered for the power of his intellect, Sen. DIRKSEN was admired for his gifts as a political technician.

Sen. Taft was a philosopher; Sen. DIRKSEN basically was a philosophical doer. In an age that practically has forgotten what rhetoric is, Sen. DIRKSEN was the closest thing we had to a Ciceronian rhetorician.

Perhaps when all else about him is forgotten, he will be remembered for that. Words fell from his mouth mellifluously. Listening to him in comparison with most other contemporary senators was like listening to a 33 rpm recording of the New York Philharmonic played on the best stereo set, in contrast to a 78 rpm recording to the local 5th grade band played on grandpa's old Victrola. He knew what well-chosen words, well-spoken and properly laced with humor, could do. For him and the United States, they did a great deal.

The essential purpose of rhetoric is to persuade. Sen. DIRKSEN's extraordinary talent as a legislator was his capacity to persuade a majority of senators to vote with him on a particular issue. As the Senate's Republican leader for 10 years, during none of which he had a Republican majority in the Senate, and during eight of which he had a Democrat in the White House, Sen. DIRKSEN worked political miracles.

In doing so, he infuriated all segments of the political spectrum. His efforts brought about Senate confirmation of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, and Senate passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

Yet, he was instrumental in the Senate's recent approval of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System, and he labored diligently for the day when constitutional amendments could be approved that would alter the effect of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions and deny the court's authority in cases involving nondenominational prayers in the public schools.

"The letters of Cicero breathe the purest effusions of the exalted patriot," Jefferson wrote. So did the orations of the last Cicero, EVERETT DIRKSEN. He loved America, loved it absolutely. His patriotism was manifested in many ways, but perhaps no more clearly than in his constant forensic struggle to make the marigold the national flower.

The marigold, he told the Senate, has a "rugged humility of character; and, like the American eagle and the American flag, (is) an exclusively American emblem." He might as well have been describing himself, for behind the clouds of florid verbiage, there was a ruggedly humble senator who stood exclusively for American interests. For that, too, we who remain behind, must send him final gratitude and wish him every success as he delivers the votes on the celestial Senate floor.

DOUG FRAZER, age 15.

# PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *September 8, 1969.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord, that it may be well with thee.*—Deuteronomy 6:18.

O God, our Father, the light of all that is true, the life of all that is good, and the love of all that is beautiful, we lift our hearts unto Thee that we may find wisdom, strength, and love sufficient for all our needs.

Help us to walk in the light of truth, to live the life of goodness, and to share the love of the beautiful that we may play our part and do our full duty in this high hour of our national life.

We pray that Thy spirit may enter the hearts of all people that our Nation, and all nations, may be free from malice and bitterness and be filled with goodness and good will. To this end and by Thy grace may we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with Thee.

Bless the family of our beloved Senate colleague with the comfort of Thy presence as they walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

A message from the Senate announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

### SENATE RESOLUTION 253

*Resolved,* That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, late a Senator from the State of Illinois.

*Resolved,* That the President of the Senate appoint a committee, of which he shall be a member, to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

*Resolved,* That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved,* That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until 11 a.m. tomorrow.

### SENATE RESOLUTION 254

*Resolved,* That the Secretary invite the Members of the House of Representatives to attend memorial services for the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon; and be it further

*Resolved,* That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial services in the rotunda of the Capitol.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, of the many tasks I have been called upon to perform in the course of my many years in Congress, this is for me the most difficult.

It is with a heavy heart that I officially advise the House of the untimely passing of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, the distinguished senior Senator from my State of Illinois, and the beloved minority leader of the U.S. Senate.

He was indeed, as President Nixon said yesterday, "a giant in the history of Congress." In the courage of his convictions and in his oratorical eloquence of their advocacy, Senator DIRKSEN will forever stand tall on the pages of the history of our day with the Clays, the Calhouns, and the Websters of yesterday. It is not whether he or they were right or wrong in what they did or said; it is that they were fearless in what he and they believed and eloquently persuasive in expressing their beliefs.

He is the last of the old school of orators. Among his contemporaries in the Senate while he was serving in the House were Tom Connally, of Texas; Hiram Johnson, of California; and Bill Borah, of Idaho. With the passing of Senator DIRKSEN something has passed that was truly American in the history of the greatest deliberative body in the world. They distinguished themselves not only from the ideas they advanced but the persuasive manner in which they articulated them.

Senator Dirksen was such a man. He was endowed with a melodious voice and was unique among us with his rich oratorical style. Happily, the magic of tape recordings will preserve for history not only what he said but how he said it. His speeches sparkled with Biblical references and quotations from the classics of literature and history. All of which bespeaks the wealth of his knowledge and keenness of his intellect, as well as the richness of his voice. When he spoke he knew whereof he spoke.

It was while serving here in the House that the Senator established his reputation not only as an accomplished speaker but as one who knew every fact and facet of the subject on which he spoke. He did his homework, so to speak; and the extensive "burning of the midnight oil" in studying legislative matters contributed to his having to leave Congress that he might better insure recovery from an eye illness.

When I was considering being a candidate for Congress in 1934, I went to Ev Dirksen who had just concluded his first term in Congress to solicit his advice. His encouragement and the advice he gave me account in large measure for my being in Congress. He emphasized with me that as he saw it the secret of success in Congress was being a man of the people, and well known to the people as one who would speak for them. He pointed out that while it was important to respect their views, it was even more important, as their representative, to persuade them to your point of view.

It is hardly necessary to say that Senator Dirksen and I were close personal friends. Our friendship began even before he was elected to Congress. Both of us were active in the American Legion in Illinois.

While Senator Dirksen may be best known for his uniqueness as an orator, he will live in history as a man who placed country first and above all else. He served as our Republican leader in the Senate under both Republican and Democratic Presidents. He served them all, Republican and Democrat, because he saw that his largest obligation was not to the political party for which he spoke, but to the country as a whole. Everett Dirksen was a giant among men, a towering statesman.

Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Senator Dirksen, our country has lost a truly great leader and I have lost a very fine friend—the finest any man could possibly have.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Arends and I extend to his gracious and loving wife Louella and to his fine daughter and her husband Senator and Mrs. Baker, of Tennessee, and his wonderful grandchildren our sincere sympathy.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator Everett M. Dirksen takes from our midst one of the most colorful Members of the Congress in the history of our country.

Senator Dirksen was a great American and an outstanding legislator. In this trying period of our Nation's history, he was a bulwark of strength, always advocating and fighting for a strong national defense and a firm foreign policy, and he did this without regard to whether the President of the United States was a Democrat or a Republican. He placed the national interest and the national defense of our country above political considerations.

Throughout his years of public service, Senator Dirksen evidenced his dedication to his public trust by assuming and performing his duties and responsibilities with great ability, with vision, and with courage. His fine and refreshing outlook on life, and his broad and philosophical mind, and his colorful personality were an inspiration for all others to follow.

Everett Dirksen, as a Member of the House and of the Senate, has made marked contributions to the progress, the dignity, and the strength of our country. He has made his constructive imprint on the pages of our Nation's history.

Senator Dirksen will be missed. It will take a long while for someone to come across the political horizon to take his place.

I extend to Mrs. Dirksen and her loved ones my deep sympathy, and also the deep sympathy of the Members of the House of Representatives, in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness and a deep feeling of personal loss that I learned Sunday afternoon of the death of the much beloved Republican leader of the Senate, Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate that the skies outside should be overcast today and should weep, for I think this reflects the mood of the Nation bereft of the services of the grand old man from Pekin. It is with a somber heart that I address this House today.

I was most fortunate. I knew Ev DIRKSEN well—perhaps better than most. Even though I did not serve with him in this body, I have had many opportunities in the last 4-plus years to be closely associated with him. I will cherish all my life these many opportunities to have worked with him. Ours was a close personal relationship because of our respective positions. Yet, while I am proud to have been the junior half of the "Ev and Jerry Show," I must say that Ev DIRKSEN never made me feel that I was junior to him. That was not his style. He was understanding, stimulating, and a friend under any and all circumstances.

Ev was a giant in American politics. He has no need to steal the show from others in order to feel his full stature. As a Republican legislator he wrote many memorable pages of American history, but, as has been said before by the gentleman from Illinois and by the distinguished Speaker, Ev DIRKSEN was an American first and a partisan second.

Ev, as all know who worked with him, was a giant as a legislator. He left an indelible imprint on many major laws that will live in the statute books for many, many years.

Perhaps more than any other statesman in modern American history, Ev DIRKSEN was a master in the art of compromise. He captured the essence of American democracy in that he made democracy work. He made manifold and tremendous contributions to the legislative shelves of this Nation.

As we all know, Ev was a giant as a speaker. He was one of the greatest in the history of the Congress—probably the last of the old school. I know of no man who was more articulate than Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, whether he was speaking of landmark legislation or reminiscing about his days in the European Theater during World War I. When he was called the "Wizard of Ooze," it was a good-natured compliment. It was in fact the supreme compliment.

Mr. Speaker, the flag hangs at halfmast over the Capitol today. It tells what we all feel—the loss of a great American and the heavy sorrow for having lost a dear friend and a good friend. My wife Betty and I extend our deepest condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and the entire family. Words are inadequate to express our grief.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the news report, which I, like many others, received while listening to television yesterday afternoon, that Senate minority leader EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN had died left me shocked and saddened.

I have had the privilege of knowing EVERETT DIRKSEN since the day I took my first oath of office in this House nearly 23 years ago. I have known him over the years as a remarkable man, an extraordinary legislator, and a personal friend.

Senator DIRKSEN was a man of many parts. He was among the last of the great orators of the old school to serve in the Congress. His flair for the dramatic, his knowledge of great literature, his uncanny memory, his rare imagination served to make him the most colorful speaker of our time.

If there was ever an institution in the Congress or the country it was EVERETT DIRKSEN. His name was a household word. He was truly a legend in his own time. With his death the Congress has lost perhaps its best known and most famous Member.

Senator DIRKSEN tenaciously pursued ideas in which he was interested. Sometimes these were in areas that caused many of his critics to consider him an obstructionist. Certainly I did not share all of his legislative interests, but I never ceased to admire his relentless pursuit of his goals.

Above all, when the chips were down, when the national interest was at stake, Senator DIRKSEN was always the patriot, always the towering statesman.

In him there was ever present an element of greatness which stood out in critical hours. His defense of the Marshall plan, the Test Ban Treaty, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, at crucial moments, made it clear that he was more than a skillful politician. He was, when great issues were at stake, not only a great legislator but also a fearless and indispensable leader. He was indeed one of the great statesmen of our time.

In the death of Senator DIRKSEN every Member of both Houses of Congress has lost a friend. The Congress has lost not only one of its most illustrious Members, but also one of its greatest champions.

No Member of either House was more dedicated to the importance of the legislative department of Government. No one, either publicly or privately, was ever more determined in his defense of Congress as an institution or of the rights and prerogatives of its Members. In every bill designed to upgrade congressional service EVERETT DIRKSEN was a front rank leader. He loved congressional service. Even in his last years, though often haunted by illness, he worked tirelessly at his job. He believed in it, and he made no apologies for his support of the importance of congressional service.

This great and unique man who for decades has seemed almost as familiar and indispensable in this city as the Capitol dome has departed his friends and colleagues.

To paraphrase Edwin Markham, like the giant oak that falls on the hillside, the death of EVERETT DIRKSEN has left a lonesome place against the sky. It is a sad farewell when we say goodby to our friend, Ev DIRKSEN. May his soul rest in the arms of the Almighty and may the peace of God comfort Mrs. Dirksen and their daughter and all the family, as they, above all others, must bear the burdens of his loss.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, my most famous constituent is gone. "My most famous constituent"—that is the phrase I have often used with pride and not a little amount of affection when referring to our beloved senior Senator, EVERETT DIRKSEN, who passed away yesterday at Walter Reed Hospital. It was my privilege on many occasions to have the honor of introducing the Senator when he spoke to official party rallies as well as to various public groups over the years.

I remember on one occasion I referred to him as one of the monuments of Washington and, indeed, with his distinctive appearance, his style of oratory, his deep, rolling voice, and his marvelous sense of humor, he had become truly a national figure.

I believe the shock of his death was so great because he had an air of indestructibility about him—you just had the feeling that he would live forever—and of course he will live forever in the hearts and minds of those of us who had the privilege of knowing him, working closely with him, learning from him, and witnessing at close hand his great legislative contributions to this wonderful country which he loved so dearly.

His whole life was wrapped up in our country's heritage and its institutions. When he returned from his volunteer service overseas in World War I he gave unstintingly of his time to all our veterans organizations and all those who would listen to him speak so eloquently about these institutions, patriotism and Americanism. As a matter of fact he was at his best when these very institutions were under attack.

I can recall his even speaking to our small high school civics class in those early days of his political career. Some years later at the close of a Constitution Day speech in Peoria, I was prompted to send him a telegram saying: "Senator, again you moved us to tears in appreciation of our Constitution."

He was a student of the Bible and the classics before becoming one of the best-informed men in or out of the Government.

It was my good fortune to introduce the Senator on so many occasions and I was tempted at times to compare him with our most notable citizen from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, but hesitated to do so because it would have embarrassed him. But certainly in terms of his impact on our party, on our State, and in this Congress, there were good grounds for making just such a comparison.

As a matter of fact, the Senator's personal life parallels to a remarkable degree that of Lincoln. The Senator's father died when he was only 5. He went to work at a very early age selling vegetables from door to door from his mother's garden and like Lincoln, he tried a number of occupations, ranging all the way from being a baker and driving a bakery truck in the family business to the manufacture of washing machines. He was proud of the fact that he carried a lunch pail and labored with his hands as a youth and it cannot be denied that these very rough and trying days of his early life played a significant role in forging his character and personality.

The Senator was given to quoting Biblical scripture and I am reminded of one he used from the prophet Job several years ago in a eulogy to a dear friend, which reads:

> If a man die, shall he live again?

And the Senator's response was:

> Surely he shall, as surely as day follows night, as surely as the stars follow their courses, as surely as the crest of every wave brings its trough.

This seemed to be the foundation of the Senator's philosophy of life and this was his firm conviction.

I shall sorely miss him, for he was such a good teacher. I shall always cherish the memories of both the serious and lighthearted get-togethers particularly with family and friends for this was where one got to know him best. To know him well was to love him for all his qualities.

There will never be one to take his place or fill the role as he played it. My heart is heavy for Louella, Joy, and the grandchildren, for they were his heart and soul and we try feebly to share the burden of their profound loss.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, there is little I can add to the beautiful tributes that have been paid to our late honorable and distinguished colleague, Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

I had a relationship with him—an abiding one—which started in the House of Representatives 30 years ago. I had the greatest respect and admiration for him as a man, as an American, and as leader.

I say, as a man, because he was a man who suffered much in his life but complained very little. I remember when as a young man he left the House of Representatives mainly because he suffered an attack of glaucoma which is a very disabling eye disease. For years he suffered chronically from sundry ailments, heart difficulties and lung complications. But, I never heard him complain. I wondered about the strength of this man.

Mr. Speaker, there were so many things that gave him strength. First, he has a wonderful wife and a fine family. He was a great scholar of the Bible, of the classics, of Shakespeare, and of history. He was also very close to nature. He loved to garden and in that diversion we had very much in common because I, too, love to plant things and watch them grow.

Many times when we were discussing matters of highly important affairs of state at joint leadership meetings dealing with these matters, the distinguished Senator from Illinois and I would discuss our respective crops, he some type of flower and me some type of vegetable.

He was a man that lived in the heart of all of us and of all humanity.

Mr. Speaker, as the poet was asked "For Whom The Bells Toll," they toll for all of us because each of us is lesser for his departure.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Boggs and I will miss him and we extend to his wonderful wife, children, and grandchildren our deepest sympathy.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, in the death of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN the country has suffered a great loss and the State of Illinois a distinguished son.

No man within my recollection has served more ably, more earnestly or with greater distinction in the Congress of the United States than has Senator DIRKSEN.

For 16 years he was a Member of the House of Representatives and for 19 years a Member of the Senate. In those years history has been made, and EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN not only has been a part of that history, he has helped to create it. Senator DIRKSEN moved with the times. Some people and a portion of the press often alleged that he changed his mind. He once made the statement:

> There is no more powerful force in the world than an idea whose time has arrived.

He was not one to put off the inevitable.

What I have thus far said does not mean that Senator DIRKSEN did not have positive ideas about fundamentals—and on fundamentals he never surrendered. He had great insight about history and where we were and what we were doing at this point in history. He had a strong feeling about the Constitution and its interpretation. He was a great believer that it meant certain things, and they could not be amended by judicial decision. He was a believer that this country was great because of its freedoms. One of his famous statements is:

> I am going to leave this country for my grandchildren at least as good as it was handed to me. These are crucial times through which we are going. If the cause of freedom is lost in the future, I do not want those grandchildren to say to me, "But, Grandfather, you were there, and you could enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

One of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's favorite quotations was from Matthew:

> Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou has been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

It fits him especially well at this time.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last year we celebrated the 150th anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois to the

Union. In that period of a century and a half our State has produced a great many distinguished political leaders of truly national stature. Today we mourn the passing of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN and add his name to that illustrious roster. None was more distinguished.

He enjoyed a career that enabled him to rise from very humble circumstances to the heights of public acclaim. Yet, through it all he carried the remembrance of a life of early struggle and perseverance to aid a widowed mother, to gain an education and still later to overcome the physical adversity that had threatened him with blindness.

He was rugged like the Illinois prairies under the scourge of the winter's north wind. At the same time he was a gentle man who loved nothing better than to work among his flowers. He was a man of sophisticated wit and wisdom. Yet for surcease from his arduous responsibilities as the leader of his party in the U.S. Senate he loved to retreat to the Virginia countryside and with his own talented hands construct the birdhouses which were then lodged in the trees surrounding his home where he could watch the arrival and departure of his favorite species.

I have so many vivid memories of Senator DIRKSEN. Among the first that I have is almost a score of years ago. He had come to the square of the courthouse in my own town in pursuit of the Senate seat then held by the late Scott W. Lucas who was also the Senate majority leader. We had heard of this man DIRKSEN before, of course, because for 16 years he had served in the Congress only to be forced into retirement when threatened by blindness. Now he had recovered and we heard that he had worn out two automobiles and traveled a quarter of a million miles up and down and back and forth across the State of Illinois in his effort to unseat the man who was then one of the most powerful and able men in the U.S. Senate. There in the pale of half-light of an early evening in summer I heard him speak of the war in Korea that was then raging and how the sacrifice and treasure of our country was being expended in that conflict. He spoke then of the importance of finding a means to resolve that tragic episode in our history in a manner compatible with our national honor but also in a way to hasten the advent of a more peaceful world. I was thrilled that evening, as were the thousands who heard him over a public career that was to span almost four decades, at the rich imagery of his speech and his ability to in-tone a sincerity and conviction that held you literally in his thrall until the last sonorous words had been spoken.

Later, as a young Congressman I was to have the honor of sharing many platforms with him as we campaigned northern Illinois together. This year, with the advent of a Republican President, it has been my privilege to observe him each week at leadership meetings with the President of the United States. There I observed his mastery of legislative detail and saw the evidence of his prodigious memory for the facts surrounding the multitude of different tactical situations that confronted him as a Senate leader. He had a large mind which, although deeply immersed in these facts, could also see the broad sweep of events both domestic and international which had an impact upon those decisions which he and the Presidents he served were obliged to make. Thus, out of the rich tapestry of his varied experiences he could distinguish the particular thread that would be helpful and relevant to a present crisis.

He was not a small or mean man. Even in confronting his political foes, and in so lengthy a career, there were many, he could not descend to the level of vituperation, but used the gentle balm of humor and good nature. It was he who practiced what he jocularly described as a political philosophy that "the oil can is mightier than the sword."

He was kindly and avuncular in his relations with those younger than he; he was the essence of patience in giving of his time and advice to those of us who often sought his advice and assistance on matters concerning our mutual constituency in the State of Illinois.

He had a deep love for young people. His Christmas records of recent years were best sellers because children loved him. How many times I heard him pridefully tell the story of how he would talk to his grandchildren just as if he was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and how they would listen at his feet.

He was a warm and humorous man, accomplished as a raconteur and able to relish a story no matter how often he had repeated it to an audience which in turn never tired of hearing the Senator tell one of his favorites.

He was an effervescent part of authentic Americana who will be remembered as long as men gather to talk about the most colorful and effective political figures in the history of the American republic.

Yet, he contributed more than color. He stood in the breach at critical moments in our history and gave both his vote and his mellifluous voice to those causes which periodically emerge on the tides of political, economic, and social changes. He was a conservative who thought it no crime to see the virtue of some flexibility when it would promote solutions to the needs of the Nation. Thus it was that the monumental civil rights legislation was enacted in this decade with his support, and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was ratified.

For more than a third of a century, EVERETT DIRKSEN participated in making some of the most momentous decisions of our times as first a Congressman and then as a Senator. We will proudly remember him as a distinguished son of Illinois, but the entire Nation will mourn his loss. He was a man of immense political stature because of his truly extraordinary gifts. He was also an orator who could and did delight thousands. It was once said of him that he was one of very few men who actually made votes when he spoke on important issues.

He was a warm and humorous man who enjoyed a rapport with virtually everyone whom he met. He was a political tactician of consummate skill. Yet above all, he was an American patriot in the deepest and most reverential sense who could and did subordinate partisanship to what he considered the overriding national interest.

We are all of us diminished by the loss of a great American. My wife and I wish to join millions in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and their daughter, Joy.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I first met EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN on the first day that he came to Washington to take his oath of office as a Member of this House. I was beginning my service as a secretary to a Member. He was starting his distinguished career as a legislator.

Through all the years following, I enjoyed a close, personal friendship with him.

It has been said that he was a great man, and he truly was. He brought honor to the State he represented and he brought honor to all of us who had the pleasure of serving with him in the Congress of the United States.

I knew him well. When I became a Member in 1945 I had the opportunity morning after morning to have breakfast with him in the House restaurant. I knew his philosophy of government. We had disagreements in the political field, but never on the basic philosophy that he held.

He was, first of all, an American. He was a great servant to the people he represented in the House and in the Senate of the United States. Truly Illinois has lost a great citizen, but so has the United States of America lost a great citizen and a great statesman.

My wife, Garry, joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wife Louella. We enjoyed a fine friendship with the Senator.

The full Illinois Democratic delegation in the House joins me in expressing sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and her family.

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the death of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, all Americans—indeed, freedom-loving people everywhere—have lost a warm and wonderful friend. In life, as he remains in death, he had become a legend in his own time—truly a giant in our history. No chronicle of the 20th century can ever be complete without its chapter on the life and deeds of EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, who rose from a modest background in the land of Lincoln to become one of the most brilliant legislators and legislative leaders the Nation has ever known. Certainly in this he has no peer.

But for those of us who had the rare privilege of working with him closely in the Illinois congressional delegation, of visiting in his home, of knowing his charming and devoted wife, Louella, we will remember what no history book can ever capture. Historians will write about the role he perhaps liked best and in which he was greatest—that of statesman and patriot. They will recall for coming generations the impact of this colorful and courageous American on the social and political life of our Republic and the world, and here his contributions are immeasurable.

We who knew him so well will remember all of this, too, and we will be eternally grateful that he walked among us at this critical time in our history. But we will also remember that wonderfully curious and warmly human intellect—his infectious zest for living. He loved to sing and I remember many happy hours gathered around the piano with him and his family and close friends singing the old songs he loved best. We will remember him both as an articulate and homespun philosopher of the American scene and his ability to bring humor and compassion to even the most trying affairs of state. We will remember as well the skill and deep understanding with which he was able on many dramatic occasions to bring harmony and unity to a divided party.

Yes, EVERETT DIRKSEN was unique in our time in many ways. An avid student of the world's finest literature and its history, he loved to share his inspirations with his fellow men, whether they be reflections on the world's great events or tender thoughts on Christmas. His voice was known everywhere, and few men in public life have been more loved or more admired. He stood tall in the Senate because he lived what this country stands for. He understood our heritage, and he had confidence in our future. People listened because they respected his ideals.

Senator DIRKSEN's seat in the Senate must necessarily be filled, but no one will ever be able to replace EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN in the hearts of his colleagues or his countrymen.

At this time, let me extend my heartfelt sympathy to his beloved wife Louella, his daughter Joy, and his son-in-law Senator Howard Baker and his grandchildren who adored him and whom he adored. They have lost a loving and devoted husband, father, and grandfather.

The Nation has lost a brilliant leader and great patriot, and I have lost a dear friend.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all of my colleagues in the Illinois delegation on this side of the aisle would join me in stating that the loss of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is irreplaceable to the people of Illinois, to the people of America, and, yes, to the people of the world.

His vast experience in both the House and in the Senate had given him tremendous ability to develop, design, and construct compromises on important issues.

Jack Kennedy could not have achieved many of his programs without the help of EVERETT DIRKSEN, and Lyndon Johnson could not have achieved many of his successes without EVERETT DIRKSEN.

On the many major issues passed on by the Congress of the United States, EVERETT DIRKSEN's brand is indelibly imprinted.

He did not hesitate to change his mind when he believed it would serve the best interest of the Nation.

He changed his mind on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

He changed his mind on the Consular Treaty.

And he changed his mind on the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Without his help this act could not have been passed.

When a friend asked EVERETT, "Why did you change your mind on the civil rights act—something you felt so strongly against at one time?" EVERETT DIRKSEN said:

> We are living in a world of changing times. New circumstances require new thinking. I believe that the time has come when we ought to have this legislation.

EV DIRKSEN disagreed often, but he symbolized the highest tradition of this Congress by never being disagreeable. In debate he was a strong foe, but, above all, he was always a gentleman.

His homespun philosophy is a hallmark of Americana.

He was a fierce patriot. He used to tell a wonderful story that I think could be a lesson to all of us, particularly at this time when we are paying tribute to his memory and honoring him today.

One day EVERETT DIRKSEN prepared a speech on "The Frog and Patriotism." A friend said "EVERETT, how can you be talking about the frog and patriotism? What do the two have in common?"

In typical Dirksenonian homespun philosophy, the Senator drew a parallel. He said:

> My friends, the very sensitive nervous system of the frog will permit that frog, when thrown into a kettle of boiling water, to hop right out. But that same frog, if he is put into a kettle of cold water, and then the heat is turned up, will stay there, and when the water comes to a boil, he will be destroyed, because he does not realize the water is reaching the boiling point. That is the way it is with Americanism and with patriotism. We see our patriotism and our rights as Americans slowly being eroded here and there, and as individual circumstances that does not mean too much, until one day it will be too late, and, like the frog, we will not be able to jump out of the boiling water, and we will lose our freedom.

He had an uncanny ability to put ideas into a new sense of meaning and persuasiveness.

All of us are experiencing a great loss. Senator DIRKSEN was a great leader, he was a great patriot, and he was a great American.

Mrs. Pucinski joins me in extending our condolences to his widow and his family. We shall all miss him deeply.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, the Nation has lost a great leader, the U.S. Congress has surrendered its most honored lawmaker, and Illinois has given up her most famous citizen since Abraham Lincoln.

The privilege of an intimate relationship with Senator DIRKSEN and his family is an experience which I treasure almost reverently. To have known and worked with this great man on a first name basis is to have felt the warm breath and blood of history in the making.

For Senator DIRKSEN was a maker of history whose deeds and acts and words will live as long as history is recorded.

Indeed, the historymaking of EVERETT DIRKSEN is recorded in sound, on film, and on longplaying records that preserve the sonorous and penetrating tones of his mighty voice. Those recordings are among the most eloquent expressions of faith and love for our Nation and our posterity which it seems possible to produce. Their meaning and importance to this and future generations of Americans cannot be overestimated.

Today as we reflect on the life and deeds of the great Senate minority leader, I am inclined to recall most vividly the hundreds of occasions when EVERETT DIRKSEN and I were together. These involved many and varied circumstances, in Illinois and Washington and elsewhere. I recall his visit to our home in Lake Bluff, as well as the occasions when he and his wife, Louella, were in our home in Washington. Most recently, I recall the afternoon at the Dirksen farm in Virginia where the marvels of nature dominated the conservation and he expressed a love for the simple and beautiful products of the soil as well as the birds and other wildlife which inhibited the farm.

Words were Senator DIRKSEN's stock in trade. He selected words more carefully and uttered them more eloquently than any other man of our time. But words are utterly inadequate to express the deep and tender feelings of those who mourn his passing.

In addition to honoring his memory, it is entirely fitting that we should extol his humanity as well. Perhaps this word "humanity" characterizes best the rare qualities which EVERETT DIRKSEN possessed. He had respect and deep concern for every human being of every race, color, religion and position in life. To his family and friends, he was very down to earth, very easy to talk with, as well as engaging to listen to.

EVERETT DIRKSEN is gone but the virtues he possessed, the human progress he helped make possible, are indelibly interwoven in the fabric of mankind.

There are many thousands of citizens of the 12th District of Illinois who would want me on this occasion also to express their feelings of loss and compassion. In behalf of Mrs. McClory and myself and the citizens of the 12th District, I extend to Senator DIRKSEN's wife, Louella, his daughter, Joy—Mrs. Howard Baker—his grandchildren, and all members of the family, our deepest sympathy and affection.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, Illinois has given a number of great leaders to the Nation; and one of the greatest surely is EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. He was a great man, more importantly, a good husband, a good father and grandfather.

His death means that the Republicans in Congress have lost a leader whose unique talents make him irreplaceable. He is dead, and Illinois has lost a spokesman of surpassing eloquence. His passing will deprive our Nation of a political leader whose patriotism showed through his every act.

Quite apart from our official relationships, it was my privilege to count him as a friend. I know all the Members of the U.S. Congress join me in mourning his death. Our sense of loss is a personal one.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I share the sentiments expressed by my colleagues here today as we extend our sympathy to the widow of Senator DIRKSEN, to his daughter and his son-in-law and his grandchildren.

It would be an oversight, and a most unfortunate one, I believe, if we failed to include in the family circle Mr. and Mrs. John Gomien, the team that has loyally served the Senator here on Capitol Hill all through his years in the House and Senate, as well as his able and longtime assistant in Illinois, Harold Rainville.

The close association these people have had with Senator DIRKSEN and his wife through the years made them very much a part of the DIRKSEN family, and I am sure that my colleagues from Illinois join me in extending to them, as well as to the immediate members of the DIRKSEN family, our deepest sympathy.

As the Representative who serves a portion of the district Abraham Lincoln once served in this House, I feel most keenly the importance of the Lincoln heritage to the world, the Nation, and the State.

Senator DIRKSEN was in the great Lincoln tradition. I have had the occasion several times to introduce Senator DIRKSEN at public gatherings. At Springfield, Ill., 2 years ago, I chose to present him with the words that he was the greatest citizen Illinois has produced since Abraham Lincoln, and that still sums up my estimate of his great contribution to this Nation.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, it is with a very heavy heart that I rise to express my own personal sense of loss at the death of a great Senator from the State of Illinois, Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN was indeed a good friend to many of us who had the pleasure of knowing him both as an individual and as a great practitioner of the art of legislation. He was truly a legislator's legislator. This was a man who had the faculty of being able to put his legislative concepts into a workable form, and to get them enacted. I think his finest legislative efforts came when he was guiding legislation through the Senate which came from his own Committee on the Judiciary. This was because Ev DIRKSEN never ceased to remember that he was a lawyer. In fact, he was one of the fine lawyers of our country, and took great pride in his acknowledged legal prowess.

Senator DIRKSEN possessed a very unique ability to communicate with his fellow man by the use of the English language. He had a fine vocabulary and a lucid style of expression which was unsurpassed by anyone of my acquaintance. I think, Mr. Speaker, it is mainly because of this particular ability that his work will be remembered. This ability enabled him to influence people and to cause legislative occurrences to take place which might not otherwise have been possible. We who are also the practitioners of the art of legislating, I think, can appreciate beyond the abilities of most people the importance of this particular talent.

The gentleman from Illinois will indeed be long remembered as a man of character, a patriot, a father, a grandfather, a friend and, above all, will be remembered as an American.

Mrs. Rhodes and I extend to Mrs. Dirksen and to her family our deepest sympathy on the passing of a very dear friend and a great citizen of the world in the 20th century.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the "gallant man" is gone. The senior Senator from Illinois—the land of Lincoln—has departed this earth, but his words and deeds will live forever.

A legend in his own time, Ev DIRKSEN played many roles, and played them all with equal verve.

The champion of the marigold.

A fearless antagonist.

A master politician, who journeyed to Joplin, Mo., and delivered one of his great speeches in my first election 1960.

A lovable rascal.

A scholar of the classics.

An authority on Lincoln.

A confidant of Presidents.

And a man who had a deep and abiding love affair with his country.

The passing on of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will leave a void in the Congress, a lump in the throat of America, the loss of a great statesman to the world, and thanksgiving on the part of this humble physician-legislator for his quick and easy passing.

In the words of William Shakespeare, a man he loved to quote:

> His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks which have been made by the gentleman from Illinois and others as we join in paying tribute to the life and memory of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, late a Senator from Illinois and the Republican leader of the U.S. Senate.

Today is a day of sadness in the Capitol Building and in America. In my own State of Georgia I know of no one outside our State who was more beloved by Georgians than was the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, a great deal of interest which has been manifested in the possible constitutional convention was due to the fact that if and when such a constitutional convention might be held, the Senator from Illinois might have been chosen to preside over the deliberations of the first constitutional convention held in the United States since 1787.

EVERETT DIRKSEN walked long and tall on the stage of American public life. His contributions to his State, the Nation, and to the people whom he devoutly loved will long be remembered. Those contributions caused America to be strong and to grow from strength to greater strength. He will be missed by those of us who have been privileged to serve with him in the United States Congress. He will be missed even more by his close circle of friends and by his colleagues in the Senate of which he was indeed an outstanding and effective leader.

Mr. Speaker, our country is a better place because of the work he has performed and the contributions he has made during his 73 years as a citizen, as a legislator, as a loyal and patriotic American.

I remember when he called upon the people of this country to reassess the fact that our resources are not unlimited and that in the reassessment and reappraisal of those resources he called Americans to establish priorities on the spending and distribution of those resources. He frequently called upon Americans in all walks of life for a return to a greater understanding of and respect for law and order.

I feel that EVERETT DIRKSEN practiced what he preached. He was one of the greatest orators that this country has produced and he spoke words of wisdom as well as words of eloquence. The Senate of the United States listened attentively when he spoke—and indeed, Mr. Speaker, the people of all America listened when EVERETT DIRKSEN spoke.

Mrs. Flynt and our family join me in the expression of our condolence and sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, Senator and Mrs. Baker, his grandchildren, and other members of the family.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a Member from the State of Illinois I, of course, feel especially saddened by the unfortunate loss of Senator DIRKSEN. I was close to him and appreciated his friendship, as well as recognizing his tremendous leadership. We all recognized that he was without a doubt a most outstanding Member of the Senate and an effective leader of his party. Throughout his career he demonstrated the most effective type of statesmanship that any Member of Congress can give to his country.

His loss is one the State of Illinois will feel deeply, as indeed will the whole Nation, and there will be a gap that will not be filled. It is proper that we stress his great contributions to the country, the statesmanship that he always exhibited, the very effective leadership that he provided and the cooperation that he gave to Presidents of both political parties. He truly was a giant in the history of the U.S. Congress.

Mrs. Derwinski joins with me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and the members of their family.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in expressing the sympathy of my family and myself to Mrs. Dirksen and to Senator and Mrs. Howard Baker at this time of sadness to their entire family.

Mr. Speaker, in the days and years to come, we will hear and read much about this man whose passing we mourn today—the DIRKSEN wit, the DIRKSEN voice, the DIRKSEN leadership that has meant so much to his Nation and his constituents.

So for this moment, let me talk about something else—the DIRKSEN spirit.

Years ago, when he was a Member of the House of Representatives, he met an old friend, our colleague Mendel Rivers, in front of the Capitol. Mr. Rivers noted that he looked tired and wan, and asked him if he felt well.

"No," that famous voice purred back. "I've just been to see the doctor, and they want to take my eye. They're not sure they can save the other one, and I'd be blind. And I'm so discouraged, I've let the qualification deadline slip past me back home, so I won't be back next year."

The official biography only says "retired voluntarily January 3, 1949." Then it says "nominated for United States Senate April 11, 1950, elected November 7, 1950."

Nowhere does it say, "refused to surrender his eye, 1949, refused to be finished, 1949, refused to knuckle under to adversity, 1948, 1949, 1950 and all the years before and after."

And it will not say, though it should, "helpful and understanding to his colleagues, 1932–69."

I am grateful to Chairman Rivers for the story of his discouragement in the postwar era. It helps me know him better, and feel closer to him. I admire his courage even more, just as I admire his ability, his courtesy, and his understanding.

And I am grateful that he extended to me the opportunity to call him my friend.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grieved as I join with my distinguished colleagues who eulogize today the life and accomplishments of one of America's greatest statesmen, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. Words alone cannot adequately express the contributions that this great man gave to his constituents in Illinois, as well as to all the people in our country.

Senator DIRKSEN was a man who possessed a keen intellect, coupled with a flair for colorful oratory. With these tools he became well known, not only in the hallowed halls of Congress where he lived for 35 years, but also in the highest counsels of the executive branch, as was evidenced by four Presidents who continuously sought his sagacious advice in legislative matters. He was not only a legend in his own time, but his was a reputation that will live on in the annals of American civilization. For whenever men assemble to discuss the history of politics in our Republic, they will not be able to escape the Dirksonian imprint as it was so astutely interwoven through the events of the first half of the 20th century.

On behalf of myself and of Mrs. Rostenkowski, I would like to extend my sincere condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and the entire Dirksen family.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, we were all saddened over the news of our colleague, the late EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. I always considered Senator DIRKSEN one of my closest personal friends as we served together as members of the House District Committee for 7 years when I first came to Congress. In fact, he was my first Republican chairman during the 80th Congress and I was serving as ranking Democrat on the committee during his term as chairman of that committee. We experienced no difficulty in working out the legislation problems of the Nation's Capital and no one ever mentioned politics on that committee. He understood and I understood that we were members of the House District Committee to serve our Nation's Capital and it actually made no difference whether a member was a Republican or Democrat.

His only reason for being a member of that committee was to keep our Nation's Capital a safe and clean place to live and a place where the millions and millions of visitors who visited the Capitol could visit without any fear. I do not remember serving with any Member of Congress who had the full command of the English language as did Senator Dirksen. When I first came to Congress, I would listen to the Senator speak on several occasions for 1 hour and the time would only seem like 5 minutes.

I am certain that everyone privileged with Senator Dirksen's acquaintance knew that he was first at all times an American. He believed in the U.S. Constitution. He also believed in taking care of America first.

One of the outstanding memories I will have during my term of service in the Congress of the United States is the opportunity to serve very closely with the late Senator Dirksen and Mrs. McMillan joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and their daughter.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I join with millions of Americans in grieving the loss of Everett Dirksen and extend my heartfelt sympathy to his family. Mr. Dirksen was a truly memorable spokesman and devoted workman for the people of this country. Even those who did not always agree with him, did always have to respect him.

As minority leader of the Senate, Mr. Dirksen has been a powerful spokesman for the Republican Party for better than a decade. The power that he wielded in that position has been the deciding factor in action upon more legislation than can ever be counted. His death creates a void which is felt not only by his colleagues in Congress, but by all America.

We have lost a great leader, a great patriot, a great Republican, and a great American. I join with my colleagues in expressing my dismay at his untimely death and in expressing my deep appreciation for Senator Everett Dirksen's outstanding service to his country.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the mellifluent voice of Everett McKinley Dirksen is stilled and this Nation mourns. However, his words shall live on to help us guide this country during the days of crisis that are before us.

We who were privileged to serve with him during his many terms in both bodies of the U.S. Congress felt a deep sense of gratitude to him for the hand of brotherhood that he extended to us all.

Senator Dirksen was a great man but more importantly for us he was a good great man—dedicated to service to God and his country.

He began his service to this Nation 52 years ago when he entered the service of the U.S. Army in World War I. Even this early in his life, we can see the pattern that was to follow him during all of his days for though he entered military service as a private he was commissioned in France as an officer. He served 17 months overseas during that conflict.

His service in our Armed Forces gave him great insight into the problems of the veteran and we who served on the House Veterans' Affairs Committee found that he supported our efforts on behalf of the veterans of our wars.

Like many of us serving in the U.S. Congress, Everett Dirksen used the hoe and the plow during his youth. He never lost his love for the soil and the men who tilled it. He understood full well the problems of agriculture and created legislation that benefited those that remained on the farm.

Again like many of us here, he worked his way through college. He left the university when our Nation called and returned to it when his service was completed.

Here we see his steps followed that of another great American from his State of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln, too, was a son of the soil who became first a fine lawyer and then a reputable statesman.

We Ohioans have long acknowledged the greatness of Everett McKinley Dirksen. He was the most loyal friend and colleague of our own late great leader, U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft. We in my home city of Akron, Ohio, often welcomed him to our city.

During my 19 years in the U.S. Congress, I valued my friendship with this great spokesman for the people of our country. I am sorry at his passing.

The United States of America is a finer Nation because of his coming amongst us—for this we are grateful not only to him but also to his wonderful family who so unselfishly shared him with us.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the passing of Senator Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, who leaves as his legacy a brilliant and dedicated career of public service.

Senator Dirksen was a courageous, colorful, eloquent leader, a great American and a great statesman, a strong party man and yet a national leader who placed the national interest above party considerations.

When the chips were down on a bill in the public interest, Presidents leaned on Everett Dirksen to provide the needed margin of support. Senator Dirksen, beneath his dry wit and colorful eloquence, was a skilled legislative leader—he knew and understood the art of legislation.

I felt a personal affection and admiration for Senator Dirksen, as in recent years he was often referred to as the third Senator from Tennessee. His daughter is the wife of Senator Howard Baker, of Tennessee, and Senator Dirksen frequently visited in Tennessee.

Mrs. Evins joins me in extending our deepest and most sincere sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, Mrs. Baker, and other members of the family.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I share the shock and sorrow of our land today over the passing of Senator Everett Dirksen. This is a loss shared by all segments of our society, both personal and political.

And, as the voice of this leader is stilled, so is a long and colorful political leadership. Everett Dirksen was the last of a special brand of political strategists, and his leadership will be missed.

Mr. Speaker, I join all Americans today in expressing my sympathy to Senator Dirksen's wife and family in this time of sorrow.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, Everett Dirksen would have been the first to stand to say something good about another legislator who had died. It seems almost presumptuous now to reflect on his life and his contribution to government by the people. Few must be the men today who do not feel a sense of inadequacy as they struggle to capture in a few words the loss suffered by this Nation and this world.

Those of us so fortunate as to have been privileged to work closely with the Senator and who find it difficult to think of American Government without thinking of Everett Dirksen are perhaps the least able to measure his real accomplishments. We are too close to the man as a warm, compassionate, and singular human being to realize he was even more in the larger sense as an American institution. History is better suited to eulogize Senator DIRKSEN than are his contemporaries.

The Senator himself asked what he believed was his greatest contribution to Congress, said it was keeping many bad laws off the statute books. It might be better to say that Mr. DIRKSEN set a standard and a mood that worked to everyone's advantage as it made itself manifest throughout the whole fabric of lawmaking. His voice that became so distinctive grew to represent measured conscientious consideration of issues on their own merit. That voice, described as the sound gravel makes in a jar of honey, will be missed. Missed too will be the "gallant man" behind it.

Perhaps the only man endowed with the gift of oratory equal to the task of eulogizing EVERETT DIRKSEN now lies dead. That may be the most we can say of him. I thank God for EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, the most colorful Senator, statesman, and legislator of modern times, showed us there is still fun to be had while we grapple with the problems of the world. Our Nation—and especially the Members of Congress and the press—will always be grateful for the life and services of this lovable man.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, Colorado has lost a good friend, this Nation had lost a great statesman.

Senator DIRKSEN was a man of sharp wit, deep human compassion, and absolute dedication to this country.

Mrs. Brotzman and I extend our condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and the members of his family.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sorrow that I join millions of Americans in paying high tribute to my beloved friend and leader, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN's death ends an era in American politics. "Mr. Republican," a title he richly deserved, has passed away. Yet no one who remembers his melodic voice, watched his legislative craftsmanship, observed his forensic ability or was touched by his friendly good humor will soon forget this great Senator from Illinois. In the tradition of the great public figures of this era, he will live on in the hearts and minds of the American people, not only because of the command of his performance, but also because of what he said.

Senator DIRKSEN was a student of the English language and a true believer in the ability of the spoken word to communicate to his fellow man. His mastery of this talent always insured attention to his never frivolous messages.

Senator DIRKSEN was a great American, and a leader among Republicans. Yet his bipartisan approach to matters affecting the public weal coupled with his always eloquent presentations, contributed to the passage of landmark legislation under Democrat as well as Republican administrations.

I have had, for the last 7 years, the distinct privilege of serving with EVERETT DIRKSEN as a member of the joint House-Senate Republican leadership. I have observed in awe and admiration the continuing contributions he has made in our joint leadership meetings prior to the Nixon administration and since that time in joint leadership meetings with the President. His razor sharp mind and ability to grasp, dissect, and give direction to the solution of the most complex problems will be sorely missed.

I extend my condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and the other members of his family.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, we mourn today the profound loss of a great American—Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. I feel a deep, personal loss in his passing because it had been my privilege to have a close friendship with this great man—a man great not only in his chosen profession, but great in every respect.

My association with him as a member of the Republican leadership brought admiration and respect for his ability and far-reaching foresight to make decisions in a level-headed way. He was direct with everyone. He had friends on both sides of the aisle, and certainly was a tremendous help to the Presidents under whose administrations he served.

The Tournament of Roses is in my congressional district and each January 1, the association honors an outstanding American by asking him to be grand marshal of the tournament. At the request of Mr. H. W. Bragg, the then president of the Tournament of Roses, I asked Senator DIRKSEN to honor my district on January 1, 1968, by serving as grand marshal. He said:

> Now, Allen, you know I couldn't ride a horse.

When I explained to him what the Tournament of Roses was, he agreed to be grand marshal.

He and Louella came to Pasadena and attended all of the festivities during the entire week, which few grand marshals have done. He endeared himself to all who were connected with the tournament and they are still talking about the fact that he was the greatest grand marshal we have ever had. I know he did this as a personal favor to me. It was strenuous for him, but in talking with him later, he said it was one of the greatest experiences of his life which makes me very happy and proud.

I had the privilege of working closely with Senator DIRKSEN during the 1968 Republican National Convention in Florida. I have never ceased to be amazed at the tremendous regard and respect everybody had for this great man at every place.

As an example of this respect and regard, even during the Tournament of Roses President Johnson called him to get his opinion on a decision that had to be made.

In my opinion, Senator DIRKSEN rates among the greatest men that I have ever known. Another great era in American politics has now been closed forever.

Elizabeth joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to Louella and to their daughter, Joy, and family. To us there was, and only will be, one EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, it was not long after my arrival in Congress that the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN came to the House, where he served with great distinction for eight consecutive terms. During this period, I knew him well and came to have great affection and respect for this man whose outstanding statesmanship and tremendous gift for universal friendship have so profoundly influenced the future of America. When he overcame the temporary physical handicap, which had led to his resignation from the House, it was a foregone conclusion that he would continue his fine career, as he then did in the Senate of the United States with rare distinction and epic success.

Mr. Speaker, I join today with the entire membership of the House and Senate, with our Government and our citizens, and with all the peoples of the world who respected and admired this titan among senatorial leaders, in expressing my deep sorrow and heartfelt sympathy for the family he cherished. Our prayers are offered in the knowledge that Senator Dirksen was a deeply devout and sincerely religious man, and that the God he worshiped has called him home from his years of unceasing and intrepid labors, labors he devoted to exalt the Master he humbly acknowledged, the country he proudly loved, and the wide world of constituents he unselfishly served.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I speak now not as a member of the leadership of my party; nor as a colleague of that great statesman, Everett Dirksen in the U.S. Congress; nor even as a personal friend, since I was not privileged to share in this honored relationship. I speak as an American citizen who in limited associations with the late Senator share with millions of citizens a profound respect for his ability; his leadership; his warmth of affection for others; his knowledge; his talent and his dedication to our constitutional institutions.

His death brings over the people of this Nation an inpenetrable pall of sorrow which while difficult to push aside is not all loss, though at the moment there is bared a gaping hole in the legislative processes.

These words—the name of the author which at the moment escapes me—are most prophetic in these days:

> I walked a mile with Pleasure.
>    She chatted all the way,
> But left me more the wiser
>    For what she had to say.
> I walked a mile with Sorrow,
>    And ne'er a word said she.
> But O, the things I learned from her
>    When sorrow walked with me.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we walk in silent sorrow, but because of the stature of the man, whose death we mourn, we will learn in this sorrowful journey some of the most prized lessons that will serve us well in the critical times through which we pass.

I am grateful to Almighty God that I have been privileged to have shared this earth with such great and wonderful men like Senator Everett Dirksen who was to America what Winston Churchill was to Great Britain—one who in travail helped bring our Nation through some of its finest hours.

May his soul rest in pease, for his works bear continuing testimony to his indomitable spirit.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sorrow and profound regret that I learned of the passing of our senior Senator, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. He was not just a Senator from our great State of Illinois. He was a tradition.

He had a style all his own. He brought great credit upon our State and our Nation.

Although we did not agree on all matters affecting our State in the Legislative field, we could always disagree in a friendly manner. This was a great trait of Senator DIRKSEN.

I strongly supported his efforts to pass a constitutional amendment to allow prayers in public tax-supported schools and other public buildings.

His mark upon the legislative history of our country is indelible for all time to come. He will be sorely missed by his colleagues and the Nation.

I want to join the minority whip, Mr. Arends, the Speaker, and the Members of both bodies of Congress in expressing deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, Mrs. Baker, and the other members of the family. Our thoughts and prayers will be with them during this sad time of bereavement.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost a legislator and a statesman of very considerable stature. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was a man of great ability, deeply committed to serving his country, his State, and his party. His loss will be felt by the Nation.

Much of the historymaking legislation passed in recent years would not have become law without Senator DIRKSEN's efforts. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which completely altered the social fabric of this Nation, owes its passage in great part to this one man.

In 1963 his decision to support ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty was of major significance in assuring its approval. He explained his decision in words that have a special poignancy today.

> One of my age thinks about his destiny a little. I should not like to have written on my tombstone, "He knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he did not take a first step."

EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN did not hesitate to take that step and many others in his long service. He is one of those few men of whom it may in truth be said, "He changed the path of history."

I join my colleagues in expressing deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, a great American has passed away. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN has meant much to me and to my family. I first met him shortly after his election to the U.S. Senate. My father and he were friends through the years. On my election to the U.S. House of Representatives, Senator DIRKSEN was ever ready to counsel and advise a young Congressman. In every contact and meeting I had with him, he was constantly a fair, even-tempered gentleman.

Recently, Senator DIRKSEN paid a particular, personal tribute to my father on the occasion of a special award and recognition program honoring my father. For this I will be forever grateful.

We who knew him, who admired him, who worked with him, will remember him always. He was truly one of the great ones.

To Mrs. Dirksen, and his daughter, Mrs. Baker, I would like to extend on behalf of my entire family, our most sincere and heartfelt condolences.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I feel that I speak for the people of the State of Illinois as well as for myself, when I express profound sorrow over the death, on September 7, of the senior Senator from Illinois, the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN was one of the most skilled legislators of our time, a great statesman, and a great American. Even those who disagreed with his thinking on the issues of the day could not help but admire and respect the eloquence, the wisdom, the showmanship, the strength and resolute commitment to our democracy that characterized the Senator from Illinois.

At the time of his death, Senator DIRKSEN was serving his 10th year as Senate minority leader, and had served over 18 years in the Senate and 16 years in the House of Representatives. He was an influential member of the Senate Finance Committee, the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Special Committee on Aging, and the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality.

He had a genius for finding the key to agreement on conflicting political issues, and because of his flair for bringing divergent views together, he served an invaluable role for President Nixon as minority leader, and for former President Johnson as leader of the "loyal opposition." In these roles, he had unequalled influence and accomplished much, as evidenced by the crucial part he played in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and on the ratification of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963.

When Senator DIRKSEN spoke, not only his colleagues, but all of our citizens across the Nation paused to listen. He could drop his voice to a whisper, and have the people hang on his every word, or he could point a finger and thunder dramatically at his audience. He was at his best when he was drawing on his vast knowledge of the Bible, Shakespeare, and world literature. In turning the tide for the civil rights bill in the Senate, he borrowed a line from Victor Hugo and declared:

> Stronger than all the armies is the idea whose time has come. The time has come for equality in sharing in government and education, and in employment. It will not be stayed or denied. It is here.

And so, the civil rights bill was passed in the Senate, and Mr. DIRKSEN had again played a constructive role in shaping the ultimate outcome of another historic event in the development of our country.

Senator DIRKSEN was born in Pekin, Ill.—a small town of 22,000 inhabitants. He was one of twin sons and he was only 7 when his father died, so both he and his brother went to work on the small family farm. Young Ev DIRKSEN was industrious and by working, paid his own way through the University of Minnesota Law School, and subsequently, became a member of the bar of both Illinois and the District of Columbia.

He also served in the U.S. Army during World War I, from 1917 to 1919, fought in France with an artillery unit and won a field commission.

Senator DIRKSEN died in Walter Reed Army Hospital after undergoing lung surgery on September 2. Though he had been in ill health for several years, the Senator always maintained a rigorous daily schedule. His outstanding career of public service, which covered a span of almost 40 years, is testimonial indeed to his dedication and devotion to the cause of our Nation's strength and freedom. He was incomparable to any man who had served with or before him in the Senate, and it will be a long, long time indeed before we see someone come close to the legendary role he played in the service of our beloved America.

Senator DIRKSEN's loss leaves a void in the Senate and in our country which will be difficult to fill, but his family and his friends can be proud of the tremendous contribution he made as one of the outstanding leaders of the American people. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing Ev DIRKSEN as a friend and colleague for so many years deeply mourn his passing, and our hearts go out to his bereaved family.

He is survived by his wife, Louella Carver, and his daughter, Joy, who is married to Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., from Tennessee. Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and to Senator and Mrs. Baker on their great loss.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, several years ago Senator DIRKSEN made a record about the gallant men in American history. With the sudden passing of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, it can certainly be said that the United States has lost one of its most gallant men.

During his 10 difficult years as the Republican leader of the Senate, Senate DIRKSEN played a key role in preserving the two-party system operation of a representative republic. In the months following the Republican debacle of 1964, it was to a great degree the leadership of Senator DIRKSEN that made the Republican opposition meaningful and not token.

Leaders and Presidents of both parties have long respected Senator DIRKSEN's political acumen and his sense of what is right. As a team player, he worked for and, indeed, was instrumental in the election or nomination of every recent Republican presidential candidate. He also campaigned actively for other Republican candidates, including myself.

However, Senator DIRKSEN was not dogmatic, and as a true statesman, he would at times differ with his Republican colleagues or attempt to lead the party in a new direction. He always abided by those principles which he felt were fundamental to a democratic and free people.

The legacy which he leaves will serve as a touchstone for future generations of American leaders. His mark will never be erased.

Mrs. Adair joins me in expressing sympathy to the widow and other members of the family.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, with the death on Sunday of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, this Nation lost one of its most skilled—and certainly most colorful—political leaders.

Although not of the same political party of conviction, I always respected the distinguished minority leader for his genuine human qualities. During the nearly four decades he served in Congress he was always a gentleman, every friendly with a happy word for everybody.

Recognized as a controversial and often contradictory figure in American politics, Senator DIRKSEN made his mark on history. He will be remembered as the last of that old school of distinguished politicans who shaped history by the power and eloquence of their oratory, the sharpness of their wit, and the force of their personality.

By his own reckoning Senator DIRKSEN set aside partisan views to "do what was right for the country." What more noble principle could serve to guide all of us who remain to carry on.

My wife joins me in expressing our deep and heartfelt sympathies to his widow, daughter, and family.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the people of Illinois and of America have sustained a great loss in the passing of the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, minority leader of the U.S. Senate. With his death, the Nation has lost an elder statesman whose outstanding record of public service covered more than half a century.

He served in the House of Representatives from 1932 to 1949. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1950, and was serving as minority leader at the time of his death. The career of Senator DIRKSEN was exemplified by his devotion to duty and the best interests of his State and Nation. He was a kind, gentle, and able man. All those who had the privilege to share his friendship came to admire and respect his sterling virtues.

Senator DIRKSEN was a loyal party man but he believed in the two-party system and contributed to its strength. For this, he earned the respect of all Members on both sides of the aisle. He lived and labored through a great era in the history of our Nation and our country is a better place in which to live and work by reason of the dedicated service of EVERETT DIRKSEN. He has passed from the earthly scene of his many accomplishments, but he will long be remembered as one of the great Americans of his age. His personal example provides for all of us here, and those who will come after, a permanent inspiration for the type of patriotic service for which this Nation will never cease to be indebted to him.

In this time of great loss and sorrow, we extend our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved wife and other family members.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the Congress, President Nixon, and the Nation have lost a valuable leader in the death of Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN. The personal grief and sense of loss that so many of us feel as his friends and followers are overshadowed by the deprivation we suffer in no longer having his sound judgment, his boundless imagination, and his infinite experience upon which to draw. He was above all a legislator of great skill and wisdom. At times this led some, without justification, to question his consistency and his dedication to principle. It was rather that he knew and practiced well the necessary lubricant of the law-making process, the art of compromise.

Serving as Senate minority leader, he has been an invaluable assistant to the President in the formulation and initiation of the legislative program of the Nixon administration and deserves much credit for the progress made despite the numerical superiority of the other party. Never an unthinking partisan, he drew respect and support from differing quarters. But well he knew and frequently he noted, that in the process and legislating, it is often a question, as he might have said, of "whose quadruped is quartered."

Kindly in his demeanor and understanding in nature, he could be fiercely loyal to his friends, and that friendship and loyalty were the treasured gift of my father, with whom he worked so long and so closely. But he was forgiving, too, of his opponents, in the best of Christian tradition.

We shall miss him, but not forget him nor his great contributions as a full-game player on the American scene.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, a great tree in the political forest has fallen with the death of Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

For many years he was a dominating feature on the landscape of American life.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was unique. His extraordinary voice, his utterly personal, individual use of the English language captivated and often inspired the Nation.

He brought rare gifts to his leadership role. He had a great understanding of human nature. He possessed an extraordinary sensitivity to differing personalities and the changing circumstances into which they were thrust and swirled by shifting fortunes. He understood and loved the drama of life, especially as it is found in the clash of strong men and women in our political system.

No man of his time in our country could so beautifully and dramatically sum up and set the tone of a great issue as could EVERETT DIRKSEN in the Chamber of the Senate.

A great craftsman, he was master of myriad details with the capacity to recall them all at will and on command. He was a virtuoso of the legislative art.

He withstood the tensions and pressures to which he was exposed by his prominence better than most men could. It is not a cause for wonder that they ground him down eventually; it is a wonder that he withstood them so well for so long.

His death has taken a unique, colorful figure from our national life. His work will long merit attention from students of our times and of our governmental processes. In this work they will find an almost limitless mine of patriotism and knowledge, welded to the service of his people. Such students, as they progress across the record of his life, will be entertained, enlightened, and frequently moved—as were we who were fortunate enough to live and work with EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Virginians have been proud that Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN selected the Commonwealth as his home away from Illinois.

We honored his search for privacy as much as we admired the skill and quality of his oratory in his dealings with the wide-ranging interests that occupied his thoughts.

We reflect now, in this hour of sadness, on the great heart that beat so strongly in life and is now still in death.

He had time, always, for the little things, the common things of life; growing things, children, local concerns, individual ambitions and hopes. He was a great man in a lofty position in life, yet he never lost his personal concern nor his capacity for a kind or soft word for a distressed fellow man.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen needs no marble monument to his memory, Mr. Speaker. His is engraved on the hearts of our people; the ordinary citizen who enjoyed his homespun humor, who enjoyed his full grasp of life; the men and women in government who felt the acid of his convictions but never the burn of his rancor.

He enjoyed verbal combat and found solace in a blossoming flower when it had ended; he spoke to the mighty and mulched the earth with his worn hands; he dealt with the greatest issues of his time, but was proudest of his poetic bent.

His favorite reading was the Bible; his greatest heroes were the man, the wife, next door who were raising the growing generation that would soon, he knew well, pick up the burden from his tired shoulders.

To all men Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen was a leader. To many of us he was a hero of his age, a man of many parts, but most of all one who walked amongst us as equals.

He touched humanity with the deftness and sureness of a soul at peace with itself.

I admired him, as all men must; I shall miss him, as all men will.

He returns to the earth he loved, in the land he revered, Mr. Speaker, and we mourn his going, never to forget him, never to be lesser men because he passed our way.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues today in paying tribute to that great Member of the other body, Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois.

Senator Dirksen will be remembered as a towering figure among the great men who have served in the Halls of Congress. During his 16 years in the House and 19 years in the Senate, he worked with tenacity and courage for the causes in which he believed. For the last 10 years, he performed with remarkable skill and intelligence as the Senate minority leader.

Everett Dirksen was a genuine patriot who fought for those causes that represent the best interests of the United States and the time-honored principles for which our great Nation stands. His recognition of the rightful role of our religious heritage has been an inspiration to millions of Americans. His eloquent advocacy of constitutional government and individual freedom underscored his deep interest in the preservation of democratic ideals.

We all mourn the loss of a great legislator and statesman—a man of monumental stature who spoke and worked for a freer, stronger, and wiser United States of America.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Senator DIRKSEN, in his own right and as a Republican leader in the Senate, added zest and color to the American political scene. If at times he espoused flexibility more than constancy there were other moments when his leadership was decisive, notably in his support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. He will be missed by his many friends, by the great State of Illinois, and by his legislative colleagues who deeply respected his skill at bringing together opposing factions in the national interest.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise to associate myself with the remarks of my distinguished colleague and longtime friend in the well, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Arends). We are all deeply saddened by the death of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, a great leader of his party and his Nation.

I feel a special loss because of the personal relationship two of my predecessors in the district I represent had with the late great minority leader of the other body. Ev DIRKSEN came into the House of Representatives 5 years before my own father, but the two of them served together in this body as intimate friends for 10 years from 1938 through Mr. DIRKSEN's temporary retirement in 1948. They enjoyed a fellowship of philosophy and an approach to the practicalities of politics which saw them working together in concert on common causes. They shared their fervor for the late Senator Robert A. Taft for President and exchanged and often confirmed each other's assessments of the well known and little known political personalities of a generation.

While my predecessor's career continued in the House and brought him into the joint leadership as ranking Republican on the House Rules Committee, the Representative from Illinois became the Senator from Illinois and, in time, the minority leader of that august body. He also became clearly one of the most colorful political figures of the day. They shared the joys and frustrations of party responsibility, talking delight in defeating their adversary colleagues for some partisan advantage and more delight yet in joining with their adversary colleagues to advance some program for the common good of the Nation.

This association in common causes and interests ended only with my late father's death in 1965.

An area recently added to the Seventh Ohio District I represent is Marion, which was the home of Dr. Frederick Smith, who represented the old Eighth Ohio District at the time Representative DIRKSEN was afflicted with problems that affected his eyesight. It was Congressman Smith who counseled his colleague medically to seek the treatment and care that saw him retire voluntarily from the House in 1948. This move ultimately led to the saving of his vision and his return to public life as a Senator and eventually as a national leader.

And what a leader the late Senator was. A persuasive counselor to his legislative colleagues and others in seats of power, he was also persuasive with his eloquence. So influential, in fact, was he that his former colleague and good friend, President Johnson, found him to be almost as powerful a leader of a heavily outnumbered Republican minority as had Senator Johnson been when he led a Democratic majority in the Senate with which President Eisenhower was obliged to deal.

There is a parallel between the Eisenhower-Johnson relationship and the Johnson-DIRKSEN relationship. But an even stranger coincidence is that between the loss President Eisenhower experienced within his first year in office because of the death of his leader in the Senate, Bob Taft, and the loss which President Nixon now faces because of Senator DIRKSEN's passing.

But it is not just the President and the Grand Old Party which have lost a champion. All Americans will feel the impact of his sudden passing. His leadership was influential because affection for him was almost universal. He was the idol of all ages and his voice was perhaps the best known since Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was a combination of many virtues, but high on the list must rank kindness and generosity. While politics may be a game of rancor and retribution for some, it was mostly love and kindness for Ev DIRKSEN. He liked to help his friends and he had few enemies. He enjoyed helping young people in politics and he made his assistance available to me as a new Member of Congress. He loved his profession and was proud of it; but he never took himself or the great moments with which he struggled during his carrer so seriously that he could not find joy or humor in them.

His sense of dedication to doing what he thought was right and to doing it within the framework of the system undoubtedly grew from his personal experience under the system—the experience of rising from humble origins to become the leader of humble men and a counselor to the great. And I feel sure that he knew that the system would see his various roles in Government filled by others in the days and years ahead. But that does not suggest that he can ever be replaced.

So while I sorrow at the loss of leadership he provided, I know that this void will be filled by the system. I mourn for the family who have lost a precious husband, father, and grandfather who can never be replaced. But I rejoice for the rest of us who had the joy of knowing him and who were benefitted by his efforts in behalf of the Nation he loved literally more than life. For all of us who are Americans he has left an example, but particularly for those of us in public life.

He was flexible because politics is the art of compromise. But he was willing to stand in unpopular causes because politics is also the dedication of doing what one perceives to be one's duty. He filled his important role humbly because he knew the cause is greater than those who advance it. But he lived his life with confidence and joy because he knew the system in which he operated is the best possible one to meet the requirements of self government.

Our prayers should be to sustain the family and for those who must advance the causes without his aid or who will be chosen to replace him. But those prayers should also express our joy for having had the pleasure of knowing him and for living in a Nation that produced such a man from the rich earth of Illinois to which we must now return him.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, EVERETT DIRKSEN was a unique institution in American politics whose life was a true profile of courage. His fierce sense of dedication was tempered by a deep sense of humor. His eloquence and style were unmatched in our time. His statesmanship and leadership of the loyal opposition during those years in which our party was out of power was unparalleled. Above all, EVERETT DIRKSEN was his own man.

I have lost a good friend. The Republican Party has lost one of its greatest leaders. The Nation has lost a dedicated servant.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resolution from the Senate of the United States, which was read:

### SENATE RESOLUTION 254

*Resolved,* That the Secretary invite the Members of the House of Representatives to attend memorial services for the Honorable EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon; and be it further

*Resolved,* That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial services in the rotunda of the Capitol.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

### HOUSE RESOLUTION 531

*Resolved,* That the House of Representatives accepts the invitation of the Senate to attend memorial services for the Honorable EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, September 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, there is a still sadness hanging over us today for this Nation has suffered deep sorrow in the passing of a distinguished American, the Honorable EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Though we have tried in words to express our sympathy to the widow; daughter, Mrs. Howard H. Baker, Jr.; and family members, we at best fall short of the tribute due Senator DIRKSEN. The world has shared his wisdom, his great talent of expression, his humility, his great dignity, his hard work, his efforts for the betterment of man.

He was loked up to by men in all walks of life and was a great friend to all of us, regardless of politics, race, or religion. There is not a single man around who can replace this great statesman; he was, as a newsman said this morning, a "living legend." He enjoyed life, and tried to make others happy too. He left behind many rich deeds from which we can benefit and he helped to write many pages of history through which posterity can gain inspiration, courage, and wisdom. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN was a very wise man, a great man.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

### HOUSE RESOLUTION 532

*Resolved,* That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, a Senator of the United States from the State of Illinois.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

*Resolved,* That a committee of thirty-two Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following Members on the part of the House:

Mr. Boggs; Mr. Gerald R. Ford; Mr. Arends; Mr. Dawson; Mr. Price of Illinois; Mr. Kluczynski; Mr. Springer; Mr. Rhodes; Mr. Poff; Mr. Bob Wilson; Mr. Cramer; Mr. Gray; Mr. Collier; Mr. Michel; Mr. Smith of California; Mr. Derwinski; Mr. Murphy of Illinois; Mr. Pucinski; Mr. Rostenkowski; Mr. Shipley; Mr. Anderson of Illinois; Mr. Findley; Mr. McClory; Mr. Morton; Mrs. Reid of Illinois; Mr. Yates; Mr. Annunzio; Mr. Brown of Ohio; Mr. Erlenborn; Mr. Taft; Mr. Railsback; and Mr. Mikva.

The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved,* That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

TUESDAY, *September 9, 1969.*

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 531, the House will attend the memorial services for the late Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN in the rotunda of the Capitol.

At the conclusion of the services the House will return to its Chamber.

The Clerk and the Sergeant at Arms, bearing the mace of the House, will head the procession.

The Chair, the majority and minority leaders, the majority and minority whips, and other Members appointed to the funeral committee will take places at the head of the column and the House will then proceed to the rotunda.

Thereupon, at 11:49 o'clock a.m., the Speaker and the Members of the House, preceded by the Clerk of the House of Representatives (Hon. W. Pat Jennings) and the Sergeant at Arms (Hon. Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.), bearing the mace of the House, proceeded to the rotunda of the Capitol.

# MEMORIAL TRIBUTES
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## *ADDRESS BY HON. FRED B. ROONEY*

### OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has lost one of its most prominent, most human and colorful leaders. Everett Dirksen was a man who could be firmly partisan when partisanship was appropriate but who could be thoroughly nonpartisan when the best interests of his Nation required it.

The Illinois Republican has been so much a part of the Senate and the American political scene that it is difficult to imagine either without him. Americans will always remember his many contributions to the Nation, such as his role in winning approval of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, his efforts to restore prayer in public schools, his famous reversal of position which insured passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and his battle for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

These are but a few of his contributions. Many of his greatest found him, the leader of the Republican Members of the Senate, joining hands with a Democratic administration to champion programs in which Ev Dirksen believed.

Often, Ev Dirksen hurdled party lines to assist Presidents Kennedy and Johnson when the distinguished Illinois Senator recognized that America would be the beneficiary. He has left a mark on this Nation that will not be soon forgotten.

I share the sorrow his family and friends feel, and extend to them my deepest sympathy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, we, who live in what is often described as an age of conformity, pay tribute today to the colorful life and dramatic career of one who was singularly nonconformist, a genuine original who prized the virtue of individuality and who exemplified it in his long and distinguished record of public service: EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN in whose untimely passing we all are the poorer. His passionate love of life and of the political process, allied with a deeply personal style, made him a legend in his lifetime. His comic spirit, nourished in the Lincolnian tradition of frontier humor and the anecdotal jest, embraced both the satirical and the sentimental, neither of which he feared; essentially unpompous, he delighted in the rhetorical flourishes of another age, and in this respect gave delight to millions.

Yet, it would be unjust to see him merely in terms of character, however striking and unique. He was first and last a politician in the best tradition of American life—one dedicated to that complex process of compromise, adjustment, and conciliation on which the survival of representative government depends. His often quoted aphorism, "The oil can is mightier than the sword," is a continuing commentary upon and rebuke to the so-called "politics of confrontation" which on the left and the right alike advocate violence in the pursuit of simplistic solutions to complex problems.

"A foolish consistency," wrote Emerson, "is the hobgoblin of little minds." It is the measure of EVERETT DIRKSEN's mind and spirit that, while essentially conservative, he was never afraid to change. Politically speaking, he will be remembered for his crucial role in "the three great reversals," instances in which he demonstrated a sensitive responsiveness to the larger issues which transcended the merely partisan. In the United Nations Bond Bill in 1962, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, he gave genuine substance to his own words, "Change is an inherent way of life." Certainly, no one has ever spoken more movingly of the nuclear threat which encompasses all mankind in its grim embrace than did EVERETT DIRKSEN when he noted that he did not want written on his tombstone:

> He knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he didn't take a first step.

We remember today his impressive words explaining his refusal to be bound by narrow, rigidly inflexible views on public policy, words fresh and pertinent in every age and perhaps his most significant memorial, and message to our Nation:

On the night Victor Hugo died, he wrote in his diary, "Stronger than all the armies is an idea whose time has come."

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a man of strong views, vigorously and eloquently upheld. Inevitably many of his special concerns were controversial. No man in his position of leadership could hope to escape criticism, just and unjust. Yet withal, he possessed unfailing good nature, especially impressive in light of the toll exacted by sickness and injury. A dislocated vertebra and a broken hip gave constant discomfort through the years. His brief retirement in 1948 was the direct result of an eye illness.

We remember that he served a full 16 years in this House from 1932 to 1948 through decades marked by depression, recovery, war, and the tasks of peace building and the cold war. Elected to the Senate in 1950, he served as minority leader from 1959 to the day of his passing.

Perhaps the key to EVERETT DIRKSEN's life is to be found in the small farming community of Pekin, Ill., in which he was born in 1896. For it was here that he learned that respect for hard work and the related virtues of the American Midwest at the turn of the century. We recall that he worked his way through law school at the University of Minnesota and completed his degree by night courses during his service in this House. The personal, private dimension of his life reveals such things as his intense love of gardening and of flowers: he would have heartily endorsed the words of Henry Ward Beecher:

> Flowers are the sweetest things that God ever made, and forgot to put a soul into.

His business experience in Pekin gave him practical insight into the problems of the business community. We are told that he wrote five novels and over 100 short stories which, though unpublished, witness to his fiercely creative impulse. His understanding of war derived from his service in 1917–19 with the American Expeditionary Force during which time he was made a second lieutenant in the field.

Especially at this time our sympathy goes out to his wife whom he wed in 1927 following a romantic stage courtship in which she, the former Louella Carver, played the princess of Pekin, wooed by her future husband in Percy MacKaye's "A Thousand Years Ago," celebrating the centennial of Pekin. Such a romantic encounter is wholly in keeping with the life story we honor here today. Mrs. Kluczynski and I share the sense of loss felt by Mrs. Dirksen and by her daughter, Danice Joy Baker, wife of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, the Honorable Howard Baker. But beyond the grief which they feel, we share their deep sense of pride in the life and career of EVERETT DIRKSEN, a life of service to the people of Illinois and to the Nation at large and, thanks to the power and prestige of America in this century, to the whole world. He takes his special place with those illustrious few who, from the Halls of Congress, have given an enduring example of leadership in effecting significant change in days of crisis for this country and all mankind.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JACK BROOKS*

### OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of the late EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. The Senator from Illinois will long be remembered as a man of principle and dedication. He was dedicated to the service of his party, his State, and his Nation.

As minority leader, he was highly partisan without losing sight of the fine basic principles by which he was guided. Possibly the greatest contribution that Senator DIRKSEN made to his country was his demonstration that opposition did not mean obstruction.

The gentleman from Illinois was admired, respected, and genuinely liked by both the Democratic and Republican Presidents with whom he served. As minority leader, he elevated that position to new heights by making it a forum for diverse viewpoints and helpful criticisms rather than an irritant and regressive influence. This attribute was recognized and appreciated by all of us who had the pleasure of knowing and serving with him in the Congress.

I know that his wife and daughter are comforted in knowing that their loss is shared by all Americans.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING*

### OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, a bright light has left the American scene with the passing of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

History will record him as a giant in his time, for he had a blend of talents and personality that made him unique and distinctive in the eyes of his fellow men.

As a legislator, EVERETT DIRKSEN had the depths of understanding that comes only to those who have labored long and hard in the legislative vineyards. He had the rare ability to pinpoint the meaningful and, in effect, to separate the chaff from the wheat. His reputation as a prime cross-examiner in congressional committee proceedings was well established.

As an orator, writer, and dramatist, he had the facility to say the right thing and to pronounce it in such a way that it came thundering in upon you, or it touched your funny bone, or it stimulated your mental and psychological cores, or it lulled you into a deep quiet.

As a patriot, EVERETT DIRKSEN was dedicated to his country and to his congressional service. Although he was plagued with various illnesses, he had a heart stout enough to cast off the chains of pain and fatigue and perform nobly and effectively in the legislative chambers.

As a person, he had compassion and understanding, being more inclined to help than taunt. And his human superstructure rested on the firm foundation of a deep conviction that principle was an honored objective that must never be surrendered upon any altar.

In the wake of his departure, there is a multitude of bright reflections. We will always remember EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, fondly and respectfully, for he was of that substance that men never forget.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. BURKE*

### OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the untimely passing of the senior Senator from Illinois and the distinguished minority leader in the U.S. Senate, Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Senate, and indeed the Nation at large, will miss this colorful figure. His eloquence has rarely been surpassed in either House and he holds a place on the pages of history with Webster and Clay. His oratorical style was colored with references to the Bible, the classics, and history. He quoted often, and flavored the issues of today with a continuity of lessons learned from the past and this was no mean indication of the man's intelligence and deep perspective.

Above all, Everett McKinley Dirksen represented the people and as he traveled up the political ladder of success he never forgot this. As Senate minority leader he backed Republican and Democrat alike without regard to political consideration in matters of national interest and national defense.

Everett Dirksen was a politician of the old school. He viewed politics as an art and used his oratorical ability and gently persuasive powers to best advantage. Master of the compromise, he seemed to relish this role.

As the complex politician displayed his expertise on the Senate floor, so there was the simpler, homey philosophical man from Pekin, Ill., who was a devoted husband and delighted in the magic of his flowers and garden.

The Congress will deeply miss this distinguished gentleman and statesman, and to his wife and family go my most heartfelt condolences at their great loss.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the passing of Everett McKinley Dirksen from the American political scene is more than the loss of a great Senator. Indeed, the minority leader of the Senate was both an expert and an articulate technician in the complex field of lawmaking. He was a master in the art of legislative compromise which offers the only alternative to an insoluble stalemate. Because he possessed these qualities he became a symbol of the U.S. Congress in this generation and is now an integral part of its history and tradition.

Senator DIRKSEN was a great Constitutionalist and a man who cherished the fundamental principles of our great free enterprise system. He was unsurpassed in his ability to develop the basic issues from the conglomeration of the most difficult legislative measures. He was gifted with a sense of expression which allowed him to paint a masterpiece with words as the most accomplished artist does with his brush and oils.

Many of his speeches have been indelibly written into the history of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

To review his many political achievements of leadership in his long decades of public service would take more pages than any author would attempt to write. But one can say in summary that no man of our time has contributed more to the accomplishments of the Congress than the late illustrious Illinois Senator, and it is very improbable that anyone will in future generations.

Personally, he was a vibrant, compassionate and lovable human being. He possessed a rich and wry sense of humor which was a source of delight to all who participated in his intimate conversations. He had a million friends in every walk of life, and he had a quality of making everyone's presence felt even while he was the focal point of attention in both official and informal groups and gatherings.

To his loyal and gracious wife and lovely daughter, Mrs. Howard Baker, and to all other members of his distinguished family, I extend my condolences. But I do so knowing that they have been left with a rich heritage and the cherished memory of the works and achievements of one of the truly great American statesmen of the generations. Like my colleagues in this esteemed body and millions of others across this Nation, I shall miss him greatly.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, our dear departed friend, was a leader held in highest esteem, respect, and admiration by his constituents and his colleagues.

In his devotion to providing a "more perfect union," EVERETT DIRKSEN excelled, because he was the moving spirit behind any cause which he championed. His eloquence and great ability as a statesman breathed life into often disagreeable endeavors. He constantly sought that middle ground on which all honorable men could agree.

We are, indeed, greatly saddened by the death of Senator DIRKSEN. Separation, sudden and unexpected, is always difficult for those left behind. And yet if quality be the real test of life, the life of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN should in itself serve to mitigate our sadness as his friends and colleagues, and to afford a source of pride and inspiration to those closest to him.

To those of us who survive, he has tossed the torch, and ours is the duty to carry on. Let us rededicate ourselves to the patriotism and love of country he felt, emulating his virtues and his consecration to duty. In memory of a fine, upstanding American, let us resolve, in this dark and threatening period which menaces our Nation, to eschew all bitterness and strife, forget racial and religious differences, forego partisan politics, and unite as one great people, under one flag, and with one destiny—that of strengthening America.

The votes which Senator DIRKSEN cast and the speeches which he made are preserved in the Congressional Record and elsewhere, but their memory is enshrined forever in our hearts.

We shall remember best not his official record but our association with him, and the ties of lasting friendship which death cannot sever and which are among the compensating joys of our service in Congress.

The greatest comfort and consolation that can come to his family is not only the splendid record which he made as a faithful public servant, but also the heritage he has transmitted to his wife and daughter, and the love, loyalty, and generous devotion which he bestowed upon his friends and family.

EVERETT DIRKSEN has passed away, but he died as he would have wanted it—in service to his country.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG*

### OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in expressing my feeling of a deep personal loss on the death of the great minority leader of the Senate, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN will be remembered by all Americans as one of the great legislative leaders of our time. His service in both the House and Senate represents a lifetime of legislative achievement. He was not only a great leader of the Republican Party but he was also a party leader always ready to put his country ahead of partisanship. His masterful oratory will be missed and the Nation has suffered a great loss. The people of Illinois and the country have lost a great national leader.

Certainly an era has ended. With the passing of Ev DIRKSEN one of the last great practitioners of the art of "being a Senator" is no more. The tousled hair, the rise and fall of a commanding voice in debate on some of the great issues of our country will be no more.

In behalf of Mrs. Cederberg and myself, I want to express to Mrs. Dirksen and to Senator Baker and his wife my deepest sympathy.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI*

### OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, the eloquent oratorical voice of a great man was stilled last Sunday when Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN passed away at Walter Reed Army Hospital.

With his death, the Nation lost one of the most skilled and certainly most colorful, political leaders of our time.

Senator DIRKSEN was a Member of this House of Representatives from 1932 to 1949. In 1950 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, and was serving as minority leader in that body at the time of his death.

Mr. Speaker, today we walk in silent sorrow to give our final respects to a man whose mark is written upon legislative history for all time.

He had the hidden genius for finding the key to agreement on conflicting proposals and political issues. This genius served him well, as evidenced by the crucial part he played in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and on the ratification of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963.

Many have heard his booming voice thundering dramatically through the Senate Chambers, then gradually lowering to a whisper which had his audience hanging on in silence lest they miss something of his speech as he made his point.

Mr. Speaker, I join all Americans today in expressing my condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and her family. May his soul rest in everlasting peace.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. DON H. CLAUSEN*

### OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, when Senator Everett Dirksen passed away on Sunday, America lost one of its greatest and most talented legislators. In my judgment, Senator Dirksen was an institution, and of himself. He will long be remembered as the great mediator.

The senior Senator from Illinois had an exceptional quality, personality, and character that made him stand tall in the minds of his colleagues, the American people, and people throughout the world. He will always stand as tall as the giant Redwoods from my native California in the minds of every American who was privileged to know or hear him.

The people from redwood country and I will be eternally grateful for his valuable assistance to me during the long and arduous debate that led to the creation of the Redwood National Park.

Certainly, his memory will endure as long as the life of those redwoods he fought to save for posterity.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN*

### OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the death of Everett Dirksen has left a void that can never again be entirely filled; for Senator Dirksen was unique: in his parliamentary skills, his captivating personality, and his impact on our national life.

Overcoming debilitating illnesses that on numerous occasions would have forced lesser men to the sidelines, he continued to cut an enviable swath until the end.

With command of the language, his matchless eloquence, and his occasional flamboyance, he evoked an American past when the great orators whose words still ring through our history were also rugged individualists.

Although it was possible to disagree at times with Senator Dirksen, it was impossible to dislike him. I mourn his passing.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE H. MAHON*

### OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in paying tribute to the memory of Everett Dirksen. I was privileged to serve with him as a fellow member of the House Appropriations Committee for many years. I can testify at first hand about the great job he did as a member of the committee.

He was brilliant, dedicated, always considerate of friend or foe. His distinguished career in the Senate must not be permitted to obscure his distinguished record of service in the House.

It has been my privilege to be present at many meetings in recent years when Everett Dirksen in his position of leadership was charged with major responsibility. He always measured up to the highest standards. Regardless of who occupied the position of President he strove to be helpful. He never sold the country short. It is fitting that we should honor him today.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES HARVEY*

### OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, my personal association with Senator Everett Dirksen was very limited. Like other Members of the House, I would have the opportunity to greet and visit with him briefly on social occasions and then, of course, very rarely during conferences on legislation passed by the two legislative bodies.

It was through one of his most able and long-time aides, Oliver J. Dompierre, a Michiganite from my old territory—the Upper Peninsula—that I have long felt a close tie and association.

In the 9 years that I have served in Congress, I do not believe that I have ever been more proud or more frightened than I was over 7 years ago when I was asked to "fill in" for Senator Dirksen in a speaking role. I was just in my second year in Congress. It might have been said that I was just a sophomore. But I was smart enough to know that I would not be able to "fill in" for Senator Dirksen in a speaking role. I might be on the program; I might even deliver the main address; but I would never be able to fill in for him. I could not do that on March 30, 1962, in Chicago, Ill., at a fundraising dinner for the Senator, nor will I or anyone else reach that stature.

I would like at this time to repeat my opening comments at that dinner program over 7 years ago. My feelings have not changed over the years, as I got to know him better. My words were appropriate then and I feel they are now. I started by saying:

> Mr. Chairman and fellow Republicans, it is a real privilege and honor for me to join with you tonight in tribute to Senator Everett Dirksen. You may not have previously considered it, but we Republicans in Michigan are almost as proud and happy as you in the State of Illinois to have Senator Dirksen representing you in Congress. In many ways, we have adopted Senator Dirksen as our voice in the Senate Chamber. We have a real attachment to your beloved Senator.
>
> Actually, Senator Dirksen, during his 28 years as a Member of Congress, and now in his present role as Minority Leader in the Senate, has been warmly adopted by thousands of Americans throughout our land. When he speaks in the Senate Chamber, everyone listens. No greater respect or honor than that could be paid. Certainly, at no time in our nation's history has such leadership in the Senate been more sorely needed than now. You people rightly believe that the State of Illinois needs Everett Dirksen. I concur and quickly add that our nation needs him also.

Yes, it has been nearly 8 years since I uttered those words of praise. I repeat them now as all Americans bid farewell to one of the giants in our Nation's history. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN shall always remain a giant in our Nation, for he truly was a grand flag bearer. He served his country as greatly as he loved it.

No one—in any fashion—can or will ever be able to "fill in" for him.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. PAGE BELCHER*

### OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN has come as a profound shock to all who knew him. Though our minds contained the fact that he had suffered from various illnesses over the past few years, they never grasped the implications of that fact. His tireless efforts as his party's leader in the Senate, his constant good humor, the "basso profundo" he brought to the support of those causes for which he crusaded—all combined to create a sense of indestructibility; to lull us with the impression that here was, not only a man for all seasons, but a man for all time.

I am deeply grieved at his untimely passing. I do not grieve for EVERETT DIRKSEN, for he has found surcease from the ills of the flesh and peace in the arms of the Creator he knew and loved so well. I grieve for all of us who still must cope with these troubled times without his wisdom, his insight, his strength, his sure sense of purpose and direction.

This Nation has produced its share of great statesmen and it has claimed many articulate and engaging personalities. But very, very rarely has there passed across the pages of our history a more remarkable and beloved combination of political skill and flamboyance—of statesmanship and charisma—than was found combined in the personality and career of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

The Senate, the administration, the Republican Party, the State of Illinois—but most importantly, the Nation and its people—will miss his leadership and his zest for life. His record and his indomitable spirit are monuments to the qualities of leadership and character which he embodied and to which we all aspire.

I grieve for his wonderful wife and family who have lived in the joy of having this warm, strong, gentle and inspiring man as husband, father, and grandfather. His passing leaves a great empty space in a close family group, but a thousand cherished memories will help to ease the loss and fill the hollow in the heart his absence brings.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I do not deem it selfish that I grieve for myself at the loss of a dear and beloved friend. Many are my recollections of happy experiences shared with Ev DIRKSEN. In years past, before his leadership responsibilities became so heavy, he was an indefatigable speaker on the political dinner circuit and he came to Oklahoma many times to lend his unique oratorical ability to my campaigns and to the party cause. Oklahomans loved him as much as if he were one of their own. And I was always proud and delighted to share his wonderful friendship.

Mrs. Belcher and I will miss him deeply, and we join in extending to his wife, Louella, and to his family our sincere sympathy and our prayers that they may know the fullest measure of God's strength and love in this time of sorrow.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE*

### OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, the passing of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN marks the end of an era. He was the last of a breed of giants who walked among us on Capitol Hill, combining showmanship and statesmanship, service with grandeur.

As a freshman, my contacts with Senator DIRKSEN were relatively few, but like most Americans I have many vivid memories of him. What I recall most is that, despite his importance he was accessible to all. I recall asking for appointments with lesser men and being put off 1 or 2 weeks. "Ev" DIRKSEN, despite his busy schedule and prominence as a national leader, was always available without such delays. Twice, I had occasion to seek an interview with this great man, and twice he received this freshman Congressman quickly and with genuine warmth.

The world will best remember his showmanship—the sonorous oratory, the silvery locks, the courtly, yet homely, manner. But we must also remember the statesmanship that lay beneath his grandness of manner. His leadership reached its peak during Democratic administrations. While he knew his role as leader of the loyal opposition was in partisan affairs to oppose—and oppose he did—he never lost sight of the requirement to be loyal, as well. In those situations which called for a united front for the good of the country, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN could and did work with Democratic Presidents as closely as with those of his own party. Our country owes him much for the unity he preserved.

We Republicans were proud of EVERETT DIRKSEN as a great leader of our party; we of the Midwest were proud of him as a personification of the ethics and ideals we hold especially dear back home. But all America can be proud of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN as the embodiment of all that is great in American political life. He was a great Republican and Midwesterner, but he was first of all a great American.

Now the torch has been passed. Someone will assume the mantle of leadership laid down by this great warrior, and life will go on. I am confident that whoever becomes the Republican leader in the Senate will carry on well in the tradition set by EVERETT DIRKSEN. But no one, no matter how able or honorable, can ever really replace this singular man from Pekin, Ill., so beloved of all his countrymen.

I know I join all my colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, and indeed all Americans in extending deepest sympathy and condolences to Mrs. Dirksen and the Senator's family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JACKSON E. BETTS*

### OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, the passing of Senator DIRKSEN from the political scene leaves a void which may never be filled. Someone, of course, will take his place in the legislative halls but it will be a difficult task to measure up to the accomplishments and talents of the departed minority leader.

His background is one that appears time and again in the lives of successful men. A humble beginning, hard work, and dedication to ideals tell the story of his rise to the top. In the midst of his legislative career were all the ingredients which the American public looks for and expects to find in its public servants. He was a family man and loved his home. He was kind and considerate and even though he rose to the heights he never lost the common touch or lost sight of the friendships he had made along the way.

All of these enduring qualities made up the framework around which his career was built.

Sometime ago I asked for his autographed picture. When I received it, the Senator had written on it this inscription for me, "To my old and steadfast friend." I shall always cherish this token of friendship from a great man. And as one of his friends, I am saddened at his death and extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and his family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the tributes to the late beloved Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN continue to roll in and included in that flood tide of respect and affection is an editorial written by Mr. Ray McHugh of the Copley News Service. The editorial really captures the essence of the Senator's life and career and his impact on our national life for so many years. I include the editorial in the Record at this point:

### TRIBUTES TO SENATOR DIRKSEN

(By Ray McHugh)

"In God we trust."

The phrase was more than a motto to Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

It was a way of life.

Since his death Sunday afternoon, there have been many eulogies and many reminisces. Not a few have lamented the passing of the Senate's last great orator of the old eloquent tradition.

We shared the joy of Sen. DIRKSEN's resonant speeches, full with the quotations from the bible, Shakespeare, and the classics and spices with Spoon River humor, all honed when he was a young man in Pekin kneading bread dough in his brother's bakery and reciting classics in the rolling rhythm of the breadboard.

We shared the wonder at that cathedral organ voice that could thunder like the artillery he heard in World War I or whisper like a lover.

But the senior Senator from Illinois must be remembered for more than a great oratorical style.

Here was a man who believed fiercely in the basic difference between right and wrong. His words often sent well-educated reporters scurrying to their dictionaries, but his principles were as uncomplicated as the Illinois prairies from which he rose.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's priorities were simple. He owed his first allegiance to God, his second to the United States of America, his third to his family, his fourth to the Republican Party.

No President he ever served quarreled with those priorities. His wife Louella would not have cared the way she did if they had been different.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President John F. Kennedy would not have had the nuclear test ban treaty which is regarded as his tallest monument.

DIRKSEN's reasoning was simple:

"I should not like to have written on my tombstone, 'He Knew What Happened at Hiroshima, But He Did Not Take The First Step.' "

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Lyndon B. Johnson would not have had the civil rights legislation that he considers his greatest contribution to the Nation.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Dwight D. Eisenhower's programs would have been emasculated in his last two years in office by a high-riding, newly elected Democrat majority. Those were the years when a Dirksen-Johnson friendship born in the House in the late 1930s began to bear the fruit of national responsibility.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Nixon would not have won Senate approval of the Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, Mr. Nixon now faces trying days on Capitol Hill. No one since Sen. Robert A. Taft better deserved the title of "Mr. Republican" and it's hard to recall any Senator who had the man from Pekin's ability to lead a small band to decisive victories.

It is hard to forget how in the early 1960s, faced with overwhelming odds, Sen. DIRKSEN successfully defended the rights of working men against compulsory unionism; how only a year ago he directed the strategy that blocked Abe Fortas' nomination as Chief Justice of the United States; how he stood staunchly alongside President Johnson in the trying ordeal of Vietnam, privately leaning toward a "victory" policy, but publicly supporting his old friend on what to DIRKSEN was the best of all grounds:

"Because he is my President . . ."

Sen. DIRKSEN was not without his critics. They had grown in recent years, particularly in the ranks of liberal Republicans who complained that the Senator was out of step with the times, that his ideas were old-fashioned, that he did not understand the changing America.

Sen. DIRKSEN understood it. But he didn't like it.

It was only after grave soul-searching that he supported sweeping civil rights and educational changes.

"They are remaking America and you won't like it," he warned in the early stages of debate, but later in his final argument supporting President Johnson's proposals, he said:

"The time has come for equality in sharing government and education, and in employment. It will not be stayed or denied. It is here."

But the time had not come for other changes.

Sen. DIRKSEN died without realizing one of his fiercest convictions—the restoration of prayer to public schools.

Nothing shook the old lawmaker more than the Supreme Court ruling outlawing such prayers. In DIRKSEN's view, the Court had taken something basic away from America.

His memory could be served in no better way than to hasten passage of a constitutional amendment that puts prayer back in the classroom and reasserts the Nation's faith in the words EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN lived by:

"In God we trust."

## *ADDRESS BY HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY*

### OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to one of the most outstanding and beloved figures of our time. Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN filled the hearts of an entire nation but his passing now touches these hearts with sorrow and a profound sense of loss. No longer will the Senate Chamber echo with his eloquence. No longer will his deep stores of wit and wisdom enrich the debate of our most urgent national issues.

Senator DIRKSEN's first allegiance was to the protection and preservation of our American heritage of freedom. He had devoted his life to strengthening and defending the principles of our Constitution. His efforts to permit prayer and Bible reading in the Nation's schools demonstrated his faith in God and his deep love for America.

Everett Dirksen was one of the greatest statesmen of this century. Every President since Roosevelt consulted him for insight and judgment in foreign and domestic affairs. He was a trusted adviser to our Presidents regardless of the party in office because he always put the national interest ahead of partisan consideration.

Senator Dirksen was a unique figure in American history whose place can never be filled or duplicated. His integrity, his faith in America and God, the magnificent achievements of his statesmanship, his legislative leadership, his eloquence, his humanity and compassion will never be forgotten.

My most sincere sympathy goes to his family in their sorrow and loss.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN*

### OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the many fine statements made with reference to the late Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. It was my privilege to serve with him in the House of Representatives for a number of years. In fact, after serving under his chairmanship I succeeded him as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture.

During this period of time, his charm, never-ending humor, and his ability made it always easy to deal with him, even on those occasions when our viewpoints were different. I will not attempt to surpass the glowing attributes which have been made, the fine descriptions which have been given, but I do want to say his has been a wonderful service and within his own lights has been constructive. Certainly he has created a big place for himself in the Congress and in the Nation and it will take much time for the void to be filled.

To his family and his loved ones we extend our deepest sympathy in their loss. We all have lost a fine friend and the country an outstanding citizen.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN*

### OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Speaker, with the passing of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, the Members of this Congress and the people of this Nation are losing more than a great leader, more than an outstanding Senator and national image to whom we pay our respect because of his noticeable accomplishments. After his 35 years of unparalleled service in the House and Senate, his death marks the loss of an inspiration and color for American public life unequaled since the days of Daniel Webster.

Senator DIRKSEN was a friendly, warm, compassionate pillar of a man. He was a man who not only enjoyed his work and responsibility, but enjoyed and lived for the institutions within which he was able to function so well. He was outstandingly effective not only by virtue of his extraordinary capabilities but also because of the pleasure and feeling for life that he expressed in what he was doing. He was effective because he was conscious of the values of our way of life that depended so greatly upon what he did and said. He was not afraid to introduce a little humor into a grave situation, or to take issue on matters of great consequence which he felt demanded the positions he took.

None could deny the powerful effect of the Senator's manner or the beauty of his conduct. Add to his humor his skill as an orator and you have one of the most memorable figures ever to grace the floors of the House and Senate. The quality of his performance as a Thespian, his flair for the dramatic, his deep resounding voice and the control which he had over it, as well as his manner of delivery and there was given to the Senate and to America the closest link between our time and that of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun.

But the brightness of his personality and the uniqueness of his behavior should not overshadow his skill as a legislative leader and statesman. The excellence of his rhetoric was not by any means his only method of being effective. As the Senate minority leader and the single most influential member of his party during two Democratic administrations, he enjoyed a power and influence of great proportion. He used this position well, for the benefit of his party, and performed the function of leader of the "loyal opposition" well, for the betterment of his country.

Yet, on those issues which were of such great consequence to the welfare and security of our Nation, he was able to avoid partisanship and withstand pressures from both inside and outside of his party. He held fast to his convictions and followed the course in which his judgment and good sense directed him.

In handling issues of the war in Vietnam, for example, the Senator cooperated closely with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in response to his deep personal conviction that the essence of Government is the freedom of the people. He fought hard behind the scenes as well as in public to see that the freedom of which he spoke was preserved for all those who had become dependent upon the Government of the United States for that preservation.

His many accomplishments can only be looked upon with pride. He served during very troubled times in a capacity which required great leadership capabilities. Had his great knowledge of American politics and its legislative processes not been available to the Congress the consequences might have been immeasureably grave. He became to the Senate an entertaining leader, a man who looked to God and commonsense for his guidance and he gave direction to his colleagues as a master in his own right. We are grateful to him for his involvement, his conviction, his dedication and now his supreme sacrifice.

To paraphrase one of his favorite sayings, "There is only one debt greater than the Federal debt, and that is the debt that the Members of Congress and all Americans owe to EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN."

## *ADDRESS BY HON. PAUL G. ROGERS*

### OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow over the loss to the Congress and to the Nation of Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN.

The many facets of the Senator from Illinois have been seen by the Congress and the Nation over the past 35 years and those talents which he possessed will be truly missed.

He has left the Nation both legend and legacy.

Maybe most think of the legend, of the personality which was indeed unique. Unfortunately, I feel that this personality has in some part overshadowed the legislative achievements which he helped forge while in the House and in the Senate.

Hardly any major legislation in the past three decades is void of his handiwork.

Senator DIRKSEN was counsel among Presidents. He was a leader and mentor among his peers in the Congress. But foremost, he was a servant of the American people.

My wife Becky and I offer our sincerest sympathy to Mrs. DIRKSEN and Senator and Mrs. Baker.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. PAUL FINDLEY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ray McHugh, of the Copley News Service, is the author of the superb tribute to the late Senator DIRKSEN. The Copley Newspapers include the Illinois State Journal and Illinois State Register, in Springfield, Ill., as well as the Aurora Beacon-News. These newspapers have been prominent in giving coverage and encouragement to Senator DIRKSEN throughout his political career. The remarks prepared by Mr. McHugh are therefore of special interest. Here is the text:

### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DIRKSEN

(By Ray McHugh)

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Since his death Sunday afternoon, there have been many eulogies and many reminiscences. Not a few have lamented the passing of the Senate's last great orator of the old eloquent tradition.

We shared the joy of Sen. DIRKSEN's resonant speeches, full with the quotations from the Bible, Shakespeare, and the classics and spiced with Spoon River humor, all honed when he was a young man in Pekin kneading bread dough in his brother's bakery and reciting classics in the rolling rhythm of the breadboard.

We shared the wonder at that cathedral organ voice that could thunder like the artillery he heard in World War I or whisper like a lover.

But the senior Senator from Illinois must be remembered for more than a great oratorical style.

Here was a man who believed fiercely in the basic difference between right and wrong. His words often sent well-educated reporters scurrying to their dictionaries, but his principles were as uncomplicated as the Illinois prairies from which he rose.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's priorities were simple. He owed his first allegiance to God, his second to the United States of America, his third to his family, his fourth to the Republican Party.

No President he ever served quarreled with those priorities. His wife Louella would not have cared the way she did if they had been different.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President John F. Kennedy would not have had the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which is regarded as his tallest monument.

DIRKSEN's reasoning was simple:

"I should not like to have written on my tombstone, 'He knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he did not take the first step.' "

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Lyndon B. Johnson would not have had the civil rights legislation that he considers his greatest contribution to the nation.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Dwight D. Eisenhower's programs would have been emasculated in his last two years in office by a high-riding, newly-elected Democrat majority. Those were the years when a Dirksen-Johnson friendship born in the House in the late 1930s began to bear the fruit of national responsibility.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, President Nixon would not have won Senate approval of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

Without Sen. DIRKSEN, Mr. Nixon now faces trying days on Capitol Hill. No one since Sen. Robert A. Taft better deserved the title of "Mr. Republican" and it's hard to recall any Senator who had the man from Pekin's ability to lead a small band to decisive victories.

It is hard to forget how in the early 1960s, faced with overwhelming odds, Sen. DIRKSEN successfully defended the rights of working men against compulsory unionism; how only a year ago he directed the strategy that blocked Abe Fortas' nomination as Chief Justice of the United States; how he stood staunchly alongside President Johnson in the trying ordeal of Vietnam, privately leaning toward a "victory" policy, but publicly supporting his old friend on what to DIRKSEN was the best of all grounds:

"Because he is my President . . ."

Sen. DIRKSEN was not without his critics. They had grown in recent years, particularly in the ranks of liberal Republicans who complained that the Senator was out of step with the times, that his ideas were old-fashioned, that he did not understand the changing America.

Sen. DIRKSEN understood it. But he didn't like it.

It was only after grave soul-searching that he supported sweeping civil rights and educational changes.

"They are remaking America and you won't like it," he warned in the early stages of debate, but later in his final argument supporting President Johnson's proposals, he said:

"The time has come for equality in sharing Government and education, and in employment. It will not be stayed or denied. It is here."

But the time had not come for other changes.

Sen. DIRKSEN died without realizing one of his fiercest convictions—the restoration of prayer to public schools.

Nothing shook the old lawmaker more than the Supreme Court ruling outlawing such prayers. In DIRKSEN'S view, the Court had taken something basic away from America.

His memory could be served in no better way than to hasten passage of a constitutional amendment that puts prayer back in the classroom and reasserts the Nation's faith in the words EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN lived by:

"In God We Trust."

## *ADDRESS BY HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER*

### OF KANSAS

Mr. Speaker, I join with millions of Americans in expressing my personal sorrow over the loss of a great legislator and distinguished American, EVERETT DIRKSEN. On behalf of the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas, I express heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and their daughter. As the President ably pointed out in his eulogy yesterday, Senator DIRKSEN belonged to all the people. He was as highly regarded in Kansas as he was in Illinois.

He was indeed "one of a kind," and he will be sorely missed. He exercised great influence on much of the significant legislation of our times. He was a powerful spokesman for the Republican Party, and he loved the United States of America. But to EVERETT DIRKSEN, America always ranked above partisan politics.

We who knew him, who respected him, who worked with him, will never forget him. He was truly one of the great ones.

Mrs. Shriver joins with me in this expression of sorrow and sympathy on the loss of a good friend and a great patriot.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. DONALD D. CLANCY*

### OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in expressing sorrow over the loss of that great statesman, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. The Senator was truly a leader in every sense of the word. He was held in highest esteem by his constituents and his colleagues who looked to him as a source of pride and inspiration. His service in both the House and the Senate represent a lifetime of legislative achievement. His colorful life, dramatic career, and oratorical style made him a striking, unique legend of our time.

I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE*

### OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, thousands of words of tribute and respect have been uttered and written following the untimely passing of that great American, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

I am honored to join my colleagues in giving deserved recognition to this outstanding leader of his Nation and his party.

The Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch published a fitting editorial on September 9, 1969, which is reprinted as follows:

### FUNDAMENTALLY A PATRIOT

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN had the will and determination to pursue whatever course he believed was for the benefit of all Americans. He was fundamentally a patriot.

Death has taken this Illinois Republican from the United States Senate. Both the Republican party and the nation have suffered a loss at his passing. And the Senate, where he pressed the pedals of his organ voice with gusto, never will be the same without him.

Some critics said of Mr. DIRKSEN that he was wont to change sides on a question and that this was not the attribute of a good leader. But Mr. DIRKSEN would be the first to admit that he would not be hobbled by a blind consistency. For he described himself as "just an old-fashioned garden variety of Republican who accepts challenges as they arise. This is a dynamic age in which we live and sometimes you have to change your position."

The Illinois senator had a cultivated Olympian aplomb and he never shied from center stage when a political free-for-all loomed in his path.

In the 1952 Republican National Convention, he roundly castigated Thomas E. Dewey of New York for opposing the nomination of Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio and for favoring Dwight D. Eisenhower. Yet, after General Eisenhower's election to the presidency, Mr. DIRKSEN and Ike became close collaborators.

And when some fellow Republicans mumbled about Mr. DIRKSEN's seeming collaboration with Democratic Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, the Illinois senator would admonish that an American "should always be willing to trust his president."

As a legislator, Mr. DIRKSEN considered himself to be a Lincoln Republican and he plugged continually for such diverse proposals as prayer in public schools and a system under which one house of each state legislature could be elected on other than the one-man-one-vote basis.

Underneath Mr. DIRKSEN's complex political facade was a man who was gentle, patient and kind, a man who could be undeniably cranky with an opponent one moment and unusually sociable with that same critic the next.

He once turned out a "Gallant Man" recording in which he recited American historical background with his honey voice and his gospel-style gush of words. In it he extolled the patriotism of great Americans of the past.

A sequel should be issued to "Gallant Man." It should feature the Americana of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ED JONES*

### OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN has left our midst in the Halls of Congress but he lives on in our hearts and minds. The pictures he has drawn on the pages of history will never fade but instead will become more vivid as each new generation brings them out and dusts them off in order to view the delicate art of leadership.

A leader is a trusted servant, and Senator Dirksen portrayed this so masterfully that future generations will have to do little if any retouching when they use his art as their example.

During his 36 years of service, he shared with his constituency, his party, and his Nation some of their highest and lowest points in history. Elected to the House of Representatives in 1933 with his party in power, he immediately experienced the depression and party changeover of the Presidency and the Congress which lasted through the war years of the 1940's. I feel it was during these years when others showed weakness that he gained the strength to carry on the business of his Nation and party which we saw him display to the very last moment of his life.

Senator Dirksen was an oratorical artist who could mold the thinking of both parties into a workable pattern from which a solution could be fashioned. He was a craftsman who never forced or pushed, but gently and firmly pressed the clay of the Nation's needs as he felt them into a statuesque presentation which all could look at and admire even though they might not agree with its message.

I personally am grateful to Senator Dirksen for showing me by his stalwart example how a dedicated leader of his party can also be a worthy and trusted servant of all the people of his Nation.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN*

### OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, I was saddened at the passing of the Honorable Everett M. Dirksen. The Nation has lost one of her most illustrious sons.

He was a great American, a great statesman, and a great leader.

The Nixon administration depended on him, as did other administrations for more than a quarter of a century. He was a Lincoln to his party and a dedicated champion for a better way of life for all Americans.

We must not let his passing discourage us, but rather provide an impetus for all Americans to strive even more diligently toward attaining the goals and ideals which were so precious to him. His inspiration to his party and to all Members of Congress lives on as a challenge for us.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a rare individual. He may well be characterized as "a man for all seasons," for he served his State, his party, and his country equally diligently and well. His infectious personality had two facets—wit and charm as well as logic and pragmatism. These served to influence the age in which he lived. His loyalty to the Republican Party was overshadowed only by his unfailing love of his family and loyalty to his country—no matter the season. He served his country unfalteringly—not only in the summers of his time—but also when the going got rough. He could be counted on to put forth the added effort, travel the extra mile, and meet any situation with a fixed determination to get the job done.

EVERETT DIRKSEN'S views and ideas yere perpetrated greatly through the influence of the news media. We were aware of his genius on a personal basis; however, the public depended on the news media to form its judgment.

The following editorial was broadcast on WCYB, a television station in Bristol, Tenn., in my district. I feel it merits repetition since it reflects the views of so many of my fellow Tennesseans and Americans.

### DIRKSEN INFLUENCE WAS TREMENDOUS

America admires a winner and leader, especially if he has the ability and adroitness to create an aura of color around himself.

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN of Illinois captured their admiration and fancy. So millions of Americans who knew Senator DIRKSEN only through television, radio and the printed word, regret his passing from life and the political scene.

Senator DIRKSEN was the most powerful figure in Congress for the past decade. He was by far the most colorful, with his rare skill for oratory and debate, and unusual personal appearance.

Politically, he generally mirrored the evolution of the American economy and thought.

He went to Congress in 1932 an arch conservative. Within the past decade he gave vital support to civil rights legislation, a bond issue for the United Nations, and a treaty banning above-ground nuclear testing. From isolationist he became an internationalist.

Yet he retained his conservatism to the extent that he has sought a constitutional amendment to override the Supreme Court decision that population be the sole basis for apportioning seats in State legislatures.

Mr. DIRKSEN served either in the House or Senate for 35 years. He was highly intelligent.

During that more than a third of a century, hundreds of people went to him for help. When he felt the justness of their positions he helped many hundreds. He also helped scores of other Members of Congress with their legislation.

Senator DIRKSEN had the ability to make use of those whom he had helped. That probably was the secret of his rare Congressional power in the final decade of his life.

It was the DIRKSEN off the floor of Congress that we liked best. He could put on a flamboyant show for newsmen. He could be bitingly satirical . . . he was a past-master as a conversationist.

The Senator's daughter married a Tennessean and he was a close friend of the late Rep. B. Carroll Reece of Johnson City. He developed rare familiarity with State politics in the South.

On one occasion he sympathized with our stateline problem of covering five States. He did it with a half-hour word-picture of the political situations in those States and some prophecies that became truth. We marveled at his detail.

We also marveled at his physical endurance. For years before his last illness Senator DIRKSEN suffered from a bleeding ulcer, a pinched nerve in his back and emphysema.

The Congress and the Nation have lost a rare figure. His death will have some deep visible effects on the Washington scene.

This editorial was picked at random. There were many other glowing tributes—tributes that will linger forever in the hearts and minds of Americans.

My wife joins me in extending deepest sympathy to his wife and members of his family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE*

### OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, many people from my district have written and called expressing their feeling of profound loss due to the death of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN. One constituent called at 1 a.m. Monday morning, after hearing of the tragedy on the late news, to inquire as to the address of Mrs. Dirksen so that he might send her a telegram of sympathy. People all across the Nation felt a personal loss when this great man passed away. I would be remiss if

I did not take advantage of the opportunity afforded me as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives to place in the Congressional Record for history some of the thoughts of my constituents and my own concerning this outstanding American.

Senator DIRKSEN was a very important and extremely busy public official. Yet he was kind and generous with his time and wise counsel, especially to new Members of the Congress. Many of my constituents had written to me asking that I support the DIRKSEN amendment to the Constitution which would permit prayer in public schools and buildings. I approved of the amendment but felt a need to do more than pay lipservice. So I called Senator DIRKSEN about his amendment. He said, "Come on over. We'll talk about it." When I arrived his waiting room was full of people. But because of his intense interest in his resolution, he wanted to give it first priority. He suggested that I introduce a similar resolution in the House, which I did. Most say that the possibility of such an amendment died with the Senator. I think it would be a fitting, lasting tribtue to him if the Members of Congress would now adopt a resolution which would submit such an amendment to the people of the States for approval.

Yes, EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN has now passed into the pages of history but the contributions of this great statesman will never die. His memory will serve as an inspiration to all who follow. As many great Americans, Senator DIRKSEN began life as a smalltown boy and rose to the pinnacle of American politics. He has been termed by President Nixon "a giant in the history of Congress," an adviser and confidant to Presidents, a colorful and sparkling orator, a skilled parliamentarian, a loyal Republican, and—above all—a patriot and great American.

He possessed the courage of his conviction and his integrity, along with his many other qualities, endeared him to the Nation and created a legend in his own time.

All of us in this House can profit from his example as a dedicated public servant and as a kind and generous man. One of my constituents suggested we take his wise counsel regarding his prayer amendment. I would like to associate myself with the idea. While we are considering another amendment to the Constitution, relating to the selection of the President and Vice President, we should consider the possibility of a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools. Such an amendment would be an appropriate lasting monument to this great God-fearing man.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN W. BYRNES*

### OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling of deep personal loss that I join in paying tribute to the memory of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

I was privileged to know and work with him as a Member of this body. His kindness and encouragements when I first came here will never be forgotten. During the years of his service in the Senate, when I was privileged to work closely with him on policy matters affecting our party and on legislation in which we were both involved, my respect for him, and my friendship with him, grew daily.

Senator DIRKSEN was a leader of men. He knew the demands of the legislative process in a representative government. While the Nation came to know him for his colorful personality and his inimitable gifts of humor and oratory, those of us who worked with him knew his other side—his grasp of the issues, his firmness in standing for what he believed right, his ability to achieve the kind of compromises necessary if a diverse society is to function.

Of EVERETT DIRKSEN, we can truly say that the Halls of Congress will not be the same now that he has been taken from us. He made his mark here and upon the Nation. He will be sorely missed. Mrs. Byrnes joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and his family in their time of sorrow.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD*

### OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in marking the passing of the distinguished Minority Leader of the Senate, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

A wise and eloquent man once said:

Whom the gods love die young no matter how long they live.

At 73, Senator Dirksen died youthful, a favorite of the common people as well as the gods. He was, as President Nixon said, a politician in the finest sense and an extremely likable man.

As in the case of other great men, he was personally a paradox.

He cultivated a public reputation for eloquence, affability, and as a champion of good-natured causes. His television appearances, his writing, and his speaking, his devotion to gardening and his quick wit gave vitality and substance to that image.

Yet, there was much more. The foundations of his life were laced with earnest determination, studious hard work, and a remarkable professionalism in achieving the goals he pursued. Despite an outward casualness, he was a man meticulously aware of history, fact, and the nuances of political life.

A clergyman and acquaintance recalled the other day that as a young man, the Senator became interested in the Bible, studied it with increasing intensity and finally committed whole passages to memory.

That same single-minded intensity and devotion to hard work were hallmarks of his work in this body.

He worked long hours in the House, often taking home a bulging briefcase. He immersed himself in the issues that were his primary responsibility and became a respected and recognized authority. The price was failing eyesight which eventually forced him to withdraw for a time from public life.

When he returned a few years later, he brought to his work in the Senate the same energy and determination linked with that uniquely likable public personality.

The combination produced a distinguished and colorful career. In recent years, virtually every major piece of legislation passed by the Senate bore his personal mark, a fact which alone testifies to the importance of his life.

His impact often was equal to that of the Presidents of his time and he wielded power with wisdom and precision.

Like other great men, his life was a product of circumstance and timing more than an accurate reflection of his immense talents.

He was a man who very well might have been a President had time and circumstance been kinder. Yet, whatever personal slight fortune may have dealt him was propitious for his country and his party.

In a period in which his party was a distinct minority in Congress, his resonant eloquence was the single Republican voice uniformly recognized in every corner of the Nation.

It was a time when he wielded great influence but was denied many of the satisfactions that usually go with the formal mantle of authority.

Death came at a time when the party he had helped nurture through difficult years was again vital, in power and able to provide him some of those rewards.

As much as his wisdom, experience and leadership will be missed, we are fortunate to have had those colorfully packaged qualities as a vibrant bridge over difficult times.

The inflections of his life, like those in his voice, reassured and sustained us through a period when that is what his party and his country needed most.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. BEN REIFEL*

### OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. Speaker, the death of EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is a great loss to all of us. The late senior Senator from Illinois was a respected leader not only in his party and the U.S. Senate, but throughout the Nation.

He was a politician in the best sense of the concept. His life style, if not closely followed, should at least be carefully studied by all who seek influence and the wise use of it, who feel compassion for their fellow man, and who want to improve the entire world community.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, at its meeting yesterday the House Republican Conference paid deep and sincere tribute to one of the great legislative leaders of our time, the late distinguished Senate minority leader, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois. With the concurrence of other Members of this House, I now insert in the Record the brief but heartfelt tribute which was offered at that time:

### Tribute to Hon. Everett McKinley Dirksen

Whereas the members of the House Republican Conference have been deeply saddened by the death of the distinguished Minority Leader of the United States Senate, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois; and

Whereas the late Senator has served his state, his party and his nation with distinction and dedication unparalleled in the recent history of the United States Congress, first as a Member of the House of Representatives, then as a United States Senator, and most recently as Senate Minority Leader; and

Whereas the services he has rendered to party and nation will be remembered with that special mark of honor which is reserved for the ablest and greatest of this nation's lawmakers and political leaders:

Therefore be it resolved that the House Republican Conference now pays special tribute to the memory of a distinguished lawmaker, a peerless party leader, a statesman and Senator whom history will honor even as we honor him here today—the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois;

And be it further resolved that the House Republican Conference express to the late Senator's wife Louella and to all the members of his family, our most sincere sympathy in the great loss that has been theirs.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT McCLORY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, my longtime friend and constituent William H. Rentschler is a mighty man with the pen.

Several years ago Bill Rentschler composed a tribute to Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, our mutual friend. I am calling this article to the attention of the Members of the Congress and to all Americans throughout the land, as it seems most fitting to ponder the penetrating and illuminating words used by Bill Rentschler in describing our colleague.

## TRIBUTE TO AN EARTHY PLAINSMAN

(By William H. Rentschler)

*This essay, which dates back some three years, expressed then my affection and deep admiration for Everett McKinley Dirksen. It now becomes a tribute to the memory of a towering figure in the annals of America.*

A tall man, now bent with the weight of years, walks with measured gait along the flat, fruited plains of Illinois toward the yellowed pages of history.

You know somehow where he is going.

And you know he senses and relishes his fated role as mover and philosopher, as one around whom legends will grow, as one whose memory will linger.

This man is EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, steadfast helmsman for that little crew of Republicans in the United States Senate.

They honored him in Chicago one late April evening in 1966, when the biting wind belied the promise of spring, at one of those big, glossy, often deadly dull $100-a-plate dinners.

Without a note or scrap of paper before him, he "preached" for one solid hour and twenty-two minutes more, surely long enough to bore stiff most anyone except perhaps his forgiving family.

Yet from the moment EVERETT DIRKSEN set free from deep in his innards that first velvety syllable, those seated, affluent diners—1,800 in all—leaned toward him and strained to hear every word as if life itself depended on his next one.

Before DIRKSEN rose, the bony young minister from the little frame church in Pekin spoke reverently of the Senator as "one who stands among us, but towers above us."

That set the stage. Then EVERETT DIRKSEN shuffled to the lectern, blinking in seeming surprise at the glare of TV lights he contends with almost daily.

The celebrated silvery locks were tangled and awry. A huge carnation made a white splotch on his black suit. The massive head, the sagging face were thrust forward, and tired, watery eyes peered over horn-rimmed spectacles into the sea of admirers. He looked for all the world like the fabled cowardly lion from cinema's Land of Oz.

There was in the great ballroom the perfect silence of expectancy, for most of them had savored the Dirksenian thunder before.

Then the words began to come, resonant, rolling, soft and almost inaudible at first. He told a gnarled old story about a grateful cow, one of his oft-repeated favorites. Half the crowd had heard him tell it before, yet they wandered almost gleefully alongside him to the punch-line, and then roared with laughter, feeling he had permitted them to share with him an intimate moment.

What he said was not new. Some would brand it corny or trite, the same old clichés about God and motherhood and freedom and all that. The empty sophisticates might dismiss him as out of touch with these frenetic times.

But you know somehow this man is not shallow or calculating or emotionless. You can see an incandescent glow in those tired eyes when he talks of freedom.

A medical curiosity with an impressive catalogue of ailments, he suffers not from the limiting myopia which afflicts and restricts so many of his colleagues and contemporaries. His mind scans the ages with a certain graceful sweep. It searches the archives and draws easily on the great books and fine minds of human history.

There is an element of grandeur, a certain homely wisdom about this righteous, earthy plainsman. His is a dying breed, towering like the shaggy mammoths above the gray flannel prodigies who are guided by polls, surrounded by faceless aides, preoccupied with the cosmetics of image.

"No, you can't eat freedom," DIRKSEN purred, "or buy anything with it. You can't hock it downtown for the things you need. When a baby curls a chubby arm around your neck, you can't eat that feeling either, or buy anything with it. But what in this life means more to you than that feeling, or your freedom?"

He had much else to say that night in Chicago. Here are a few random wisps of his "conversation" with 1,800 dinner companions:

"We must glue our eyes on the cause of freedom. It's the one thing that counts. The quiet, insidious erosion of freedom is taking place constantly . . . They're trying to remake us from stem to stern, trying to subvert our principles . . . It is time for those citizens who believe in the durable values to stand up and be counted . . ."

"There would have been no civil rights bill without us Republicans. That bill was written in my office . . . The Negro should come back to the Party of Lincoln."

"Americans today are a prosperous but unhappy people . . . there is frightful turbulence and discontent and bewilderment . . . Not the least confused are those in Washington as they caterwaul and wander aimlessly about. . . ."

"That burglar they call inflation is eating into every paycheck. . . . When it gets out of control, then controls go on, and you don't have freedom. . . ."

"Some of these kids think it's smart and fashionable to burn draft cards. But they only do it when the TV cameras are there. I think it's smart-aleck nonsense . . ."

"George Meany asked for my support on the repeal of 14–B. 'You fairly wrench my heartstrings,' I told him, 'but you'll never get my vote.'"

"The reapportionment fight is just beginning. If you know you're right, you're not discouraged by one lost battle. We'll fight it out to let the people decide . . ."

"We have a monster government . . . unmanageable . . . the individual gets lost."

"Many people don't care, but I will never let the freedom of these neutrals be impaired."

"We Republicans must invite all sorts of people to come over and help us: the rank-and-file of labor, housewives, Negroes, young men, those who believe in constitutional government, those who want victory in Viet Nam. . . ."

"There are only three issues this year: peace, freedom, the preservation of our free-enterprise system . . ."

These are fragments. He said a good bit more in those fleeting eighty-two minutes. Then they stood up and cheered this man, who likely in 1968 would be the Republican nominee for President by acclamation if he were ten or a dozen years younger.

There is much of the Shakespearean "ham" in EVERETT DIRKSEN, and he is quick to admit it. But here, too, is a legend who still lives and works his legislative sorcery, the only one of his kind and stature and character in the Senate.

Some chide him for his flexibility, his ambiguity, his easy camaraderie with the White House. He baffles friend and foe alike, for there is in him none of the unbending rigidity of the man who opposes only for the sake of opposing. This rankles some fellow Republicans and confounds his opponents.

He chooses his fights, selects his battle sites with the care of a shrewd general. He has learned in four eventful decades of public service that the effective warrior must above all live to fight another day. So he rarely courts the bloody nose, seldom picks the fight he is bound to lose. But on all the big issues where peace or freedom are involved—civil rights, reapportionment, Viet Nam, Section 14–B, the nuclear test ban treaty—he is there at center stage, playing a lead role, making his stand.

They called him the Wizard of Ooze, and once they said it in derision, but now they recall it with affection and awe born of respect.

For EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will be around awhile, stalking the marble corridors with the ghosts of Clay and Webster, Taft and Borah, long after most of his colleagues—and we—are gone and forgotten.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER*

### OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN marks the end of an era. It will be a long time before the American political scene sees the likes of Senator DIRKSEN. The combination of his oratorical eloquence and his imprint on the laws of this Nation make him a unique American leader.

While it was not my privilege to know the Senator well, he stands out in my remembrances from the time of his 1952 speech to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. I am saddened by his passing personally, but more importantly the Nation loses when a man like Senator Dirksen leaves the governmental scene. There are few men who serve in public office who can truly be called giants, but in my judgment Senator Dirksen is one of them.

Mrs. Steiger joins in extending sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, Senator and Mrs. Baker, and to the rest of the Dirksen family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WM. J. RANDALL*

### OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, all America grieved when they heard the sad news of the passing of the minority leader of the Senate, Everett Dirksen. I know this is true, because I was in my home district on Sunday afternoon when the news came over the car radio while I was making some last minute visits before returning to Washington. I heard such expressions as, "He was a grand guy;" "There will never be another like him"; and, "He was the greatest orator of all time."

It is natural that there is a sense of sadness at the death of a very popular national figure who became a legend during his own lifetime. But along with sadness and shock, there must be a sense of frustration among the American people at having snatched from the council of Government a great leader at a time when outstanding leadership is so sorely needed in our Nation and in the world.

It was not my privilege to have known him as well as some of my colleagues. Here a few years ago, during a certain spring when he was making repeated trips home, it was my good fortune to be on the same plane with him from Washington to Chicago on several occasions. On one or more of these times, it was my privilege to sit beside him and to enjoy a visit en route. But when I was beside him, and at other times when I was on the plane, I observed that no sooner was the plane airborne than he opened his attaché case and went to work. For a man of his years, you would expect that he would use this flight time as an opportunity to rest, but on each of these trips that we traveled together I noticed that he spent his time reading reports from his staff and perhaps preparing remarks to be made in his home State.

I mention these incidents in order to emphasize that while Mr. Dirksen was a brilliant man, a magnificant speaker, and a great leader of his party in the Senate, he was also embued with the idea that there is no substitute for hard work.

So many things have been said and written about this distinguished American. But I think the thing that impresses me most is a remark attributed to him wherein he explained that he worked very hard at his job so that when his time came it would be regarded that he had helped, at least, to turn over to his children and grandchildren a country that was at least as good as his generation had inherited from its forebears. He so eloquently said that he hoped it would never be that his grandchildren would say to him, "You were on the scene; why did you let things get into such bad shape?" If more of us took this view, we would be more diligent in our efforts and work just a little harder, then our descendants could be a little more assured that they would have passed on to them the same great heritage that had been handed down to our generation.

It was my privilege to take note of another facet of his personality that convinced me he was really genuine. I am convinced he did not adopt his well-known mannerisms just for the benefit of others. Some observers have suggested that his use of the hoarse whisper was a kind of dramatic gesture. Because of those trips on the plane together I prefer to believe otherwise. Those inflections, expressed by the raising and lowering of his voice were a part of his thinking process. On the trips when I sat beside him on the plane he made no studied effort to impress anyone. It was simply normal for him to place emphasis upon his thoughts by changing the level of his voice and by the use of inflection. The manner of his speech was not reserved for oratory alone. It was the same in his personal conversation. It was a part of the man.

Those of us who listened to President Nixon in the rotunda heard him describe the late Senator Dirksen as "a politician," but then the President went on to say he used that term in the very finest sense of the word. In the opinion of some of us present this was as fine a tribute as could be paid to any Member of Congress.

On Wednesday of this week I had occasion to take a constituent over on the Senate side. That body was in adjournment out of respect for one of their distinguished leaders. When we walked on the floor there on his desk was the one marigold of the species he had pleaded to be made the national flower. In the rotunda, the President said Mr. DIRKSEN could be described in the same way as his beloved marigolds, "hearty, vivid, exuberant, colorful and uniquely American." Mary McGrory, a staff writer for the Washington Evening Star carried that parallel a step further when she described the passing of the minority leader of the Senate by saying "a bright flower is gone."

EVERETT DIRKSEN was a giant of public life. He was certainly one of the most powerful Senators of all time and perhaps the most dominant figure of the Republican Party of the 1960's. He was counsel to Presidents but, most of all, he regarded himself as a servant of the people. I can honestly say that along with those Members of his Party that were close to him, as a Democrat, I can say that I am going to miss Ev, too. I join with my colleagues in extending sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen, Senator and Mrs. Baker, and the others of his family.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, as others have noted, after Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN was made, God threw away the mold—for he was, truly unique.

His loss is a national loss, and at the same time a personal loss to each and every one of us, for this fierce patriot, this courtly personage, this great orator who was, perhaps, the last of his kind, and this skilled legislator who left his personal mark on nearly every major piece of legislation that has passed from Capitol Hill to the White House during his long years of service, simply cannot be replaced.

EVERETT M. DIRKSEN was the very epitome of a U.S. Senator. He looked like one; he acted like one—and enjoyed every dramatic moment of it—and spoke like one, loving words as much as he did the flowers he grew, cherishing the proper placement of each and nourishing both with the same tender, loving care; but, most of all, he served his Nation and his people in that effective, dedicated, and always-faithful manner that typifies the height of legislative service in which we believe to be the greatest legislative body in the world.

His wit, his patience, and his unfailing good humor in the midst of adversity, have become well known; but his uncanny ability to bring ideas and attitudes together without sacrifice of principle in that spirit of compromise which is the genesis of all legislative progress will be remembered longer—for it was in this latter fashion that he served both his calling and his beloved Nation.

Some have said he should have been a Shakespearian actor. I think, perhaps, he was—in a modern sense—much of the time. But, if so, it was an effective role, and one he enjoyed as well. Whatever the event, I have searched Shakespeare's works for the most appropriate lines to use in this tribute to our departed friend and colleague.

Though others with the same idea in mind may well already have used them, these lines from, first, "King Richard II" and, then, from "Julius Caesar" seem to me to best sum up the life of this most estimable of all public servants:

> "The purest treasure mortal times afford is spotless reputation. . . .
> Mine honour is my life; both grow in one;
> Take honour from me, and my life is done."

And then:

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Mr. Speaker, I repeat: We have suffered a grievous loss, and one that will be almighty hard to overcome.

Mrs. Robison joins me in expressing our regrets to Mrs. Dirksen, to Senator and Mrs. Howard Baker, Jr., and to the people of the State of Illinois.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS*

### OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the late minority leader of the Senate, EVERETT DIRKSEN. The senior Senator from Illinois was a powerful influence on three and one-half decades of national legislative history. During his 16 years in the House and 18 years in the Senate, EVERETT DIRKSEN became the "politician's politician." He understood the art of compromise but knew well enough when he had to stand firm. When he was under intense pressure he was able to bring to his side, those who opposed him.

He was a leader. He made opinion, shaped it, molded it, gave it form and substance. He rallied about him men of diverse philosophy and brought them to a common cause. He did not require that all of his followers come together under a single banner; those whose support he sought came with their honor intact and with the knowledge that their own principles had not been compromised.

He asked no more of others than he was prepared to give of himself. He fell to tasks for which lesser men might not have had the stomach for no other reason than it was required of him. He understood the demands of leadership when he said of himself:

> I am of the stuff which cries "Chief, hand me the red-hot poker."

Unlike too many "little statesmen" for whom foolish consistency is a hobgoblin which diverts them from the truth, DIRKSEN saw himself in the course of history and understood the need to revise his own attitudes to fit the prevailing needs of the Nation. On issues of foreign policy, civil rights, and economics he was attacked because, according to his detractors, he had changed his mind. Undoubtedly he had. But he did so, not capriciously, but after much agonizing and only after he had convinced himself that national requisites had indeed changed. He understood Victor Hugo's immortal line:

> Stronger than all the armies is an idea whose time has come.

After three and one-half decades, even though EVERETT DIRKSEN'S time had come, his life stands as a monument to political leadership, a life which disavowed foolish consistency for dynamic change.

Mrs. Daniels joins me in extending deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dirksen and to Senator and Mrs. Howard Baker, Jr., on their great loss.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ED EDMONDSON*

### OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has lost one of its great legislators in the death of Senator Dirksen.

The Senator from Illinois, who began his illustrious career in this body, was undoubtedly one of the Nation's best known political leaders. He was a master of the legislative processes and one of the most influential men in our Government.

Always considerate and courteous in his dealings with others, the Senator was one of the few in this Capitol whom visiting constituents always recognized and generally wanted to meet. He was invariably generous and warm in his vists with the people from any State who wished to greet him, and was willing to discuss any public issue.

I deeply appreciated his kindness to Oklahomans on the several occasions when he met with constituents from the Second District, and know that many Americans share a sense of loss in his passing.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. J. HERBERT BURKE*

### OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, within the space of just a few short days, death took the lives of two great Americans—both were champions; and yet, while these men typified the American spirit and the dream of all Americans to succeed in their chosen fields, they were as different as day and night.

The people of our Nation admired them not only as men but also for their achievements. One fought his way to the top as a politician, gifted in word and astute in the art of politics; the other fought his way up in his profession by the use of his fists, his brain, and his brawn.

Both were truly outstanding citizens. Both exemplified the opportunity we have in this Nation, if we wish, to move ahead, and to fulfill the hopes we might have to succeed—if success is what is wanted. Success, however, did not come easy to either, for both had to work hard to move out of the poor circumstances to which they were born. They tramped up the hard road to success by hard work, and by the sweat of their brows, while at the same time brushing away the cloud of self-pity, until they reached the pinnacle of their dream.

One was Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN; and the other was Rocky Marciano. On the surface, it would appear that there is little to compare the two. DIRKSEN was a sophisticated and eloquent Member of the U.S. Senate; Marciano was a "bull-like," strong, heavyweight boxing champion of the world. Yet both started life in almost the same circumstances.

EVERETT DIRKSEN was born in a small town in central Illinois. His father died when he was 5 years of age. As a boy he worked hard at many menial tasks—he peddled vegetables from door to door, he drove a truck, and later realizing the need for further education, he worked his way through college and ultimately became a lawyer.

Rocky Marciano's boyhood was quite similar. He was one of six children born of immigrant parents. His father was a shoemaker and money to his parents came hard. Like DIRKSEN, Marciano worked hard, as a laborer, as a ditchdigger, and at other odd jobs. Although he never attended college or acquired the educational knowledge that Senator DIRKSEN did, he too was a proud American. He, like DIRKSEN, believed that self-improvement came about by self-initiative and by hard work.

Thus, it appears that these two great Americans, as diverse as they might have been in their interests did, nevertheless, have the same desire and drive necessary to bring about the reality of their dreams of success.

From humble beginnings, they pulled themselves up the ladder of success rung by rung but by their own bootstraps.

Senator DIRKSEN became a national and international figure as a U.S. Congressman, then as a U.S. Senator. Finally he became one of the outstanding leaders of the Republican Party and was named minority leader of the Senate.

He was a straight-talking personable man but not averse to letting his thoughts and feelings be known by direct statements regardless of what the personal consequences might be. On some of his stands he was criticized, while on others he was praised, but in all cases he let his position be known to the American people. He was a fighter for the preservation of our Constitution, and of our free enterprise system. Although he received great publicity by reason of his own "humorous" political style, yet there are few who can deny his achievements or work on behalf of the people.

At times he was accused of representing big business, but then there were those who also accused him of representing minority groups against the interests of big business.

Rocky Marciano chose the fight ring as his road to the top. He was not a big man, but he was rough, tough, and ready. As a prizefighter, he fought the greatest and finally retired undefeated. He was subsequently acknowledged by many to have been the greatest heavyweight champion of all time. This proclamation came during his lifetime and hence Rocky Marciano became a legend in his own time. He became also, a national and international figure.

In his quiet almost humble manner, Rocky was always in the forefront when it came to promoting a worthy cause. In fact, on the day he was killed, he was en route to making a speech before a civic club for a friend who had requested him to be there to help raise money for a charitable cause.

Thus, it is obvious that the thousands of people from all walks of life, who filed past the bier of Rocky Marciano in Brockton, Mass., and in Fort Lauderdale, and to those who walked past the flower-decked casket bearing Senator DIRKSEN in the Capitol rotunda and at his burial in Illinois, proclaimed in silence their respect and admiration for what these two great Americans had accomplished.

I am sure that they and the rest of us feel pride that we lived during their time on earth, and that each exemplified the spirit of being an American. We who remain should look at their lives and be proud that we have our own right to our American dream, and that the right and hope for improving our lot in life is fact and not fantasy.

These men left as their heritage, living proof of America's offer under our Constitution, to those of poor and humble beginnings, to achieve success if the desire is present.

This right of achievement is the right of all free Americans, but requires an acceptance of the challenge to look it squarely in the face, not with self-pity but the wish and desire to become a champion.

They did it by hard work, initiative, pride, and with the gift that God has granted to each of us—namely, the blessing of being born in a free country.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT D. PRICE*

### OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, the unexpected and untimely death of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen shocks and saddens us all.

He was a great man and a great political leader. His wisdom, wit, and personality will be sorely missed in the Congress of the United States, but what will be missed most is his legislative skill and statesmanship. Without the untiring efforts of Senator Dirksen many of the most important legislation in recent years would not have become law.

Everett Dirksen was more than a political craftsman of the first order; he was a political personality which had no equal since the days of Daniel Webster. His colorful personality, his engaging air, and his bombastic colloquies delivered in a rich baritone, set a style in the Senate that may never be recaptured.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN J. ROONEY*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, one of the voices of the Senate, or more correctly one of the voices of our time, has been stilled. The passing of the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen, distinguished minority leader of the other body and a longtime friend, has saddened us all, for his voice was an almost irreplaceable one. I had the privilege of knowing, working with, and being a friend of Everett Dirksen for many years. He served as a fellow member of the House Committee on Appropriations and later was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Everett Dirksen was known the length and breadth of the land as his mellifluous tones and flowing mane graced thousands of television programs and news pictures. But he was known the length and breadth of Congress, too, not for these caricatures but as a hard working, professional politician and warm, generous friend. He was a professional in every sense of the word and his word was professional in that it was never a thing given lightly. Mr. Speaker, the people of Illinois and the U.S. Congress will miss Everett Dirksen as will his many friends. To his dear wife and family I extend the Rooneys' deepest sympathy and prayers.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK*

### OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, in recent years the late Senator Everett Dirksen was identified with a number of issues of national importance. I would hazard a guess that if the Senator were to be remembered for any one issue dear to his heart, he would have chosen the subject of prayer in the public schools as the issue which he would have liked to have seen resolved. For those who are not familiar with the wording of Senator Dirksen's constitutional amendment "with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings," Senate Joint Resolution 6, the text is as follows:

### Senate Joint Resolution 6

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"Article —

"Section 1. Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

The need for a classification of the school prayer issue was recently illustrated by a situation which has developed in Netcong, N.J., where a board of education regulation provided for 30 seconds of "voluntary, silent meditation." Protests were forthcoming from the New Jersey chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and the former mayor of Netcong in which they charge a violation of existing laws.

The religious news editor of the Washington Star, William Willoughby, in his column, "Washington Perspective," of September 13 gave us an excellent explanation of why Senator DIRKSEN could not help but be involved in the school prayer issue. The thorough and deep-seated religious training which was an intimate part of his youth and which never left him through all of his illustrious public life would not allow Senator DIRKSEN to ignore the judicial restrictions placed upon the time-honored custom of American youth speaking to divine providence in their school assemblies.

When our schoolchildren are permitted once again to send heavenward their spiritual salutations, so pleasing to our Creator, no little credit should be given to the late Senator from Illinois whose religiously-oriented youth knew not the shackles which silence today this Nation's youth.

I insert at this point the above-mentioned column by William Willoughby in the Record:

### DIRKSEN PRAYER BILL—DEVILISH PLAN FELL SHORT

(By William Willoughby)

"I don't know all the details yet, but it's going to be devilish," the deep, deliberately theatrical voice declared. Behind the voice was the unmistakable, earthy, impish look in the eyes of Sen. EVERETT DIRKSEN—the kind of look he got when he was dead serious about something.

That was about four years ago following a meeting of Sigma Delta Chi, the journalists' fraternity. He was speaking of his intentions to push a prayer amendment through Congress. He wasn't at all pleased that some time-honored practices in the public schools had been altered by the Supreme Court or by what school officials thought the Supreme Court said.

The Illinois legislator who grew out of a childhood background in the Christian Endeavor movement and the grooming of a mother who took her religion very seriously, had lots of "devilment" in him, as any of his legislative friends and foes readily recognized. At one time he had almost enough of it in him to pull the stunt off.

In September, three years ago, DIRKSEN came within six or seven votes of getting enough strength to get his prayer amendment past one of its many big hurdles. Considerably more than half the senators voted in favor of his measure, but in an effort to amend the Constitution, a two-thirds vote is required, and he lost the whole ball game.

Devilish? At one point he tacked his bill onto a measure that probably had more backers than his prayer amendment—a bill to recognize National Baseball Week. At another time he tried tacking it onto a bill recognizing the UNESCO fund—you know, where the little goblins go out trick or treating, only instead, they collect pennies for the aid of the hungry children overseas.

Now that DIRKSEN is dead and buried in Pekin, his Illinois homeland, there is a groundswell among those who still believe a prayer amendment is needed. Back-to-God movements headed by Harvard graduate Rufus Webb in Maryland, Dr. and Mrs. L. H. Blevins in Virginia and Mrs. Bennett G. Miller in the District are pressing Congress to pass S.J. 6 as a memorial to the legislator. Similar appeals are coming from across the nation.

"The anti-poverty bills were passed as a memorial to President Kennedy; the civil rights bills as a memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, why not the prayer amendment as a memorial to Sen. DIRKSEN?" Mrs. Miller reasoned.

DIRKSEN was dead serious about prayer. No one ever shook him from his belief that, while on bended knee on a train enroute to Baltimore where he was to have an eye removed, God answered his prayer on the spot and healed his eye.

Imagine the surprise when DIRKSEN went up to the doctor at Johns Hopkins Hospital and said: "Doctor, I have decided not to have the operation."

"Why did you come here?" the doctor queried.

"I came because other doctors said I should come and see you. But you see, Doctor, I found another doctor."

"Impossible," the doctor said, knowing DIRKSEN could not have had such an encounter. "You couldn't have."

"But I did . . . He's the Big Doctor way upstairs," DIRKSEN said in the way few except maybe Al Jolson could have imitated.

That was 21 years ago, when it looked as if the political sun was going to set on him in Pekin. But to the end, he declared that eye was his better one.

In the last article he ever prepared for publication, in this month's Guideposts magazine, DIRKSEN said he had plenty of opportunity to learn to pray when he was a balloonist during World War I with the United States Army in France.

During service in the "suicide squad" he said, "I can honestly say that I was devoid of fear because of the presence of the Almighty. I knew He was there . . ."

When he was a kid back in Pekin his mother made him promise not to become an actor—he had been flirting with the idea. She thought acting was an evil profession and that he should have no part in it.

But who will question that he did not heed his mother's advice? Some of the real color has gone from Congress with his departure. He knew the tricks of the acting profession well.

Dirksen saw Washington as the stage where another act was being performed—by God.

"I have found the nation's capital to be an incredibly interesting place. It is where history unfolds and discloses a divine pattern if we will only look for it.

"I believe it must be in accordance with His plan. For if there is a creative hand behind this universe, there must be that same creative hand to shape the unfolding and give direction to this good land."

Curtain call has come for Dirksen. Wouldn't it somehow be just a bit "devilish" if a prayer amendment became the final accolade?

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Everett M. Dirksen, the former senior Senator from the State of Illinois.

Senator Dirksen will long be remembered for his dedicated and diligent service to his party, his State and to the Nation. The public knew Everett Dirksen as a colorful personality and an eloquent orator. In Congress, however, this skilled legislator was admired for his sound grasp of the role of the legislative process in a democratic government. Senator Dirksen was firmly partisan when partisanship was appropriate, but could be thoroughly statesmanlike when the best interests of the Nation demanded it.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in expressing our regrets and extending our prayers to Mrs. Dirksen and to the family in their bereavement.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN was a great shock and loss to all of us in Congress, just as it was for all Americans. He was a colorful public figure and a skillful legislator.

Alan S. Emory, distinguished Washington correspondent of the Watertown, N.Y., Daily Times; the Palladium Times of Oswego-Fulton, N.Y.; and the Schenectady, N.Y., Gazette, has written a column catching the spirit and colorful personality of the man. I would like to share it with you.

The column follows:

### FROM WASHINGTON: HIS ABILITY TO LAUGH AT HIMSELF MADE DIRKSEN A CAPITAL FAVORITE

(By Alan S. Emory)

"DEAR ALAN," the note began, "I will try to quit falling out of beds or doing other mischievous things that will absent me from those delightful gallery meetings week after week. To me they are as a tonic and I hope the gallery gods may find a little stimulus themselves."

You'd better believe it. The note was from EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, and no one will miss the supremely colorful, marvelously funny Senator from Illinois more than the members of the press. DIRKSEN's Tuesday afternoon seances with newsmen—his "gallery gods"—perched atop a press release table, sipping coffee from a paper container and bumming cigarets from reporters, were classics of their type.

In 1965, from a hospital room, DIRKSEN wrote me, "How good it will be to get back and especially to return to the press gallery and sit cross-legged on my accustomed table and carry on the thrust and parry which is always a delightful exercise with the Fourth Estate."

It was DIRKSEN's wonderful ability to laugh at himself that made him such a favorite in the capital. Once he declared, "Far be it from me to pass judgment on my frail fellow-mortals. We all have frailties and foibles, and this includes your humble servant sitting on the table."

One of his favorite stories was—illustrating the exact meaning of words—about how Mrs. Noah Webster found her husband kissing the maid and declared, "I'm surprised, Noah!" "No, my dear," Webster replied. "You are astonished. I am surprised."

Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia called Dirksen the greatest thespian ever to tread the Senate boards. Former Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois called him "the professional of all professionals . . . a magician par excellence."

Dirksen in the Senate was often a delight. At one point in a debate on ending filibusters, the seamy-faced Midwesterner recalled the "fuss" over Arizona's being admitted to the Union. He intoned dramatically, "Had there been a cloture vote, there would have been no Arizona. Had there been no Arizona, there probably would have been a thumping Republican majority in 1964." The Senate was convulsed with laughter.

"One man clothed in righteousness is a match for all the hosts of error," he rumbled one Summer afternoon.

Then there was this masterpiece: "If I lose the first battle, I must fight on and on until victory is won. This is only the first battle. If, perchance, destiny will let the laurels of success perch upon my lamps and my shields, I shall be happy. If not, I must gird myself again and get the energy reservoir filled with what it takes to drive one on. I must look at the arsenal of weapons, take my choice and continue the fight in the only way that I know . . ."

"I am not so blind as not to know when I am up against a stacked deck," he said once. "I don't sit around and waste energy trying to beat a stacked deck. I've been around these diggings too long."

A vintage Dirksen bit was telling the Senate a ham sandwich had been waiting for him 90 minutes in the cloakroom and, "being an old baker, I am sure the bread has lost all its hydration and will not taste so good. A boiled egg is out there, and probably it has shrunken by now. There is some custard there. It has probably gone to water." So the Senate stopped debating to let Dirksen eat his lunch "without having to go back to the hospital."

But for all his love of a good floor debate, it was the give-and-take with newsmen that Dirksen relished most, especially in his leadership years.

It was a photograph of him on the press gallery table showing a short sock above his shoe that led to his being deluged with gifts of long stretch socks. As the dozens of pairs kept arriving, Dirksen complained, "I'll never wear them out."

Two years ago Dirksen threatened to tone down his press sessions. He observed, "Every time I indulge in a little balderdash or twaddle it appears in the papers as a major crisis of some sort. I'm going to be insufferably dull. I'm going to be a bore."

The "new Dirsken," he said, would have "no more wisecracks, no more jokes."

"Then you won't be up in the gallery this afternoon?" a reporter asked.

"Oh, I'll be there," replied Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Sadly, for all of us, he won't be there any more.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, as President Nixon said in his eulogy to Senator Dirksen during the services in the Capitol Rotunda, the Senator belonged to everyone in the country and the tributes pouring in from all over the country confirm the President's words.

His loss is felt the most, however, by the folks back home in the Pekin-Peoria area and as evidence of that sentiment it is my privilege to place in the Record the following tributes:

An article by Bill O'Connell, political writer for the Peoria Journal Star from the September 8th edition.

An article by staff writer, Richard O. Kasten, appearing in the September 8, 1969, edition of the Peoria Journal Star.

An editorial by Mr. Charles L. Dancey, editor of the Peoria Journal Star appearing in the September 9th edition.

A column from the September 19th edition of Life magazine written by Mr. Richard B. Stolley, writer for Life magazine, a native of Pekin and a long time friend of the Dirksen family:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 8, 1969]

### DIRKSEN KEPT HUMOR, FEELING FOR HOME FOLKS, SAYS NEWSMAN

(By Bill O'Connell)

Covering politics doesn't pay particularly well. But the memories it provides from occasions to meet and know the politically great and near great are a compensation.

Everett Dirksen was one of the great.

A confidant of presidents and foreign leaders too, a political kingmaker and, when necessary, an arm-twister, a man known, admired and hated throughout the world, he was somewhat bigger than life.

There will be a veritable avalanche of "I remember Ev" stories ploughing through the mills in the days and months to come.

Here are a couple of my own.

I remember Everett Dirksen after his 16 years in Congress and his election to the Senate; after he had suffered from and recovered from that dread disease "presidential fever."

He laughed a lot about presidential fever—and vice presidential fever too.

He said on any number of occasions he overcame the malady, or it overcame him, the night in 1952 when he pointed that angry finger at Thomas E. Dewey and thundered, "You led us down the road to defeat."

Having survived the fever, Sen. Dirksen became, to me, one of the most relaxed men in public life I've ever known. He knew his power, and his limitations, and enjoyed both.

"Back home," he never took himself too seriously around friends.

He especially enjoyed news stories around home that poked a little fun. Maybe because they lacked the venom of the "national" treatment he sometimes encountered.

He took no offense at all to the repeated telling and writing of a story of how, as a congressman in the late 1940's, he had bent to one knee on the stage of Peoria's Shrine Mosque and solemnly declared that if Richard Lyons didn't make the greatest U.S. Senator ever, he hoped the Lord would strike him blind—and how he retired from the House the following term because of failing eyesight.

Nor was he even a mite upset when kidded about his "diet." He laughed about a story from this typewriter that suggested he shed some pounds after "glancing surreptitiously at a propitious moment at the scales" and scrawled a note saying that's probably exactly the way he would have described it.

He knew, as the writer suspected and was later told, the diet was the end result of a mild heart attack, not any real concern about a growing waistline.

Despite his great national prominence and the pressing demands upon his time, Everett Dirksen was never too busy, once the "fever" burned out, for his friends and the press back home.

During the most heated point of the Army-McCarthy hearing in the ornate Senate caucus room of the capitol complex in Washington, he took time to guide this reporter through a maze of security guards to a seat behind him for the hearings.

Casually, and within the reporter's earshot, he calmly discussed with McCarthy the day's strategy for "Getting you off the hook, Joe."

On this occasion, he also took a moment to introduce the young reporter from "back home" to another young man seated behind the imposing panel of the select committee hearing the McCarthy case, a young staff aide named Robert F. Kennedy.

"You just sit down here with Bob. He'll help you and you help him," he laughed.

Later, when the young staff aide had become famous—as famous as Everett McKinley Dirksen—and his brother had become the President of the United States, this writer went to Pekin on a promise that the then Republican minority leader of the Senate would sandwich in an interview despite a heavy Christmas holiday schedule.

The interview came at 9 in the morning in his cluttered study while Mrs. Dirksen fretted because the writer's wife and kids stayed out in the car instead of coming on in.

Like every Dirksen interview at home in Pekin, it was constantly interrupted by the janging of the telephone with calls from Washington, New York, Chicago and other key centers.

Each time the reporter would begin to rise from his chair to leave the room so the senator might have the privacy to speak freely to important personages on the other end of the phone, he would wave his hand, which clutched a dark brown toddy, and whisper "Sit down."

In one of these calls, DIRKSEN clearly and without reservation, committed himself firmly to support President John F. Kennedy's pledge to back a United Nations bond issue considered crucial to the survival of the U.N.

Knowing how much the national press was speculating on what course he might take on the U.N. bonds issue, and enjoying every minute of it, DIRKSEN laughed and said to the local newsman, "How's that for a scoop?"

On another occasion the senator flew home for a few days rest and a birthday celebration. This reporter missed his arrival at the airport and phoned the house in Pekin to catch up.

The senator wasn't taking any calls, however, and it was necessary to make an indirect approach—through his trusted Chicago aide, Harold Rainville.

Once Rainville had cleared the path via a long distance call, Sen. DIRKSEN accepted the reporter's call.

"I know, Bill," he said, "that you're going to say how sorry you are to bother me at home and you know I'm not going to believe you. Go ahead and ask your questions. But first, tell me, what the hell favor does Harold Rainville owe you?" he joked.

The reporter replied that he had indeed told Rainville this would even the score for a past favor, but really couldn't think of one, if pressed, and DIRKSEN laughed even harder.

The senator's birthday parties were something else again. Whether they were held in Washington or back home in Pekin or Peoria, the big and the powerful, as well as the home folks were there.

For example, the guest list for his last two birthday celebrations here two years ago—arranged by long time friends Walton Sommer and Walter McAdoo—included such guests as Harris Perlstein, chairman of the board of the Pabst-Blatz beer empire; Sam Dean of the milk empire; and Col. Henry Crown, former head of Materials Service Corp. and then chairman of General Dynamics, builder of the controversial TFX fighter plane.

All of these out-of-town guests had two things in common: they were old, old friends of the Senate minority leader and they had current problems with the federal government.

And while DIRKSEN was comfortable among the mighty, he still never forgot those constituents back home who had no other influence than a friend who knew him way back when.

Only recently, after receiving a letter from David H. Cummings of Washington, DIRKSEN interceded to help a young Vietnam veteran get a new pair of legs after efforts through regular channels had resulted in mounds of red tape and interminable delays.

Politicians come and go and no one is irreplaceable. But it will be a long, long time before another EVERETT DIRKSEN comes along. And a lot of us will be a little better for having known him even a little.

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[From the Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 8, 1969]

### PEKINITES REMEMBER "EV" ORATORY

(By Richard O. Kasten)

PEKIN.—As Sen. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN's political career rose through the years, the one thing that many of his former schoolmates and friends remembered about him was his oratorical powers.

"It all began in his high school days, when everybody said he must have swallowed a dictionary," says John Goar, a local insurance and real estate agent.

"He was fantastic in his speech and often used a lot of big words." Goar said.

"Whatever he got he made by himself. After he worked in the bakery business with his brothers, Tom and Ben, he saved enough to put himself through college."

The house on Buena Vista street in Pekin, which has been the Senator's official residence in Illinois for years, is occupied by the senator's 94-year-old mother-in-law, Mrs. Lillie Carver. Goar was the real estate agent who handled the transaction by which the Carvers bought the property years ago.

Goar recalled hearing DIRKSEN give monologues and speeches at various public functions years ago. "He liked to talk but it was not just to be talking. Usually he had something important to say. His first political job was on the Pekin City Council in the late 1920's and one of the things he tried to do was get a zoning ordinance passed. I remember that some people were critical that the council had copies of the ordinance printed, because of the expense of the printing.

"When he spoke, a person had the feeling he had some ambitions in mind," Goar said. "This was before he got elected in politics."

Ralph Goar, John's older brother, recalls that DIRKSEN has been interested in legion affairs.

"One of the first jobs that EVERETT had was working for C. L. Cook, a farmer who had an excavating company. They built a dike across the river. After that job was finished, EVERETT then went into the bakery business, as I recall.

"He was a natural born talker back in high school," Ralph Goar said.

The senator grew up in the northeast part of Pekin that was known as Bonchefiddle, low German for Beantown. It was a section of many German families who, tradition says, were so frugal they planted beans in their front yards.

George Eldridge, now retired, was a co-owner of the bakery in which the three Dirksen boys worked for about 15 years before they started their own bakery in Pekin.

The bakery was known as the A & E Bakery at the corner of Elizabeth and Fourth streets, in the present Pekin Daily Times building. It was named for Henry Ailts and Eldridge, who owned it. Ailts was an older half-brother of the Dirksen boys. After the three Dirksen boys left A & E, they set up their own bakery shop on lower Court street and named it the Dirksen brothers bakery.

Eldridge recalls that Everett Dirksen saved enough money from the bakery to go to college.

Mrs. Eldridge, the former Edna Albertson, said she lived at 1001 Hamilton Street, as a girl when the Dirksen family grew up at 12th and Hamilton.

"I remember often seeing the three Dirksen boys going barefoot around the neighborhood, carrying pails of milk to customers of their mother. She milked cows at the home place and the boys made the deliveries," Mrs. Eldridge said.

"Everyone knew then that Everett was a brilliant lad and his mother often said he would be president. When he was born his mother said he would be president of the United States. She was very ambitious and hard working," Mrs. Eldridge said.

J. Norman Shade, former mayor of Pekin, said today, "the passing of Sen. Dirksen is certainly a loss which will sadden many, many people. During my years in politics so many friends of mine would make requests which I was not in a position to fill. It was then I would either see the senator or write him and relay the request to this good man. Never once did he refuse to offer his assistance. Whatever was brought to his attention he considered in his humanitarian and gracious manner."

Shade said many of the requests he was referring to concerned naturalization papers and helping a veteran get into a soldier's home.

The incident that it pleases Shade to remember most is the occasion several years ago when a Japanese girls' ball team came to Pekin to play a game with the Pekin Lettes. Sen. Dirksen attended and then-mayor Shade pulled the senator to the ball diamond in a rickshaw. "Don't tip me the wrong way, mayor," Sen. Dirksen warned Shade.

Mayor William L. Waldmeier was in Chicago attending an Illinois Municipal League Convention when he heard of the senator's death. "Everyone is shocked at the loss of Sen. Dirksen," he said. "He is one of the greatest statesmen of our time and one of the greatest Americans. I held him in the highest esteem and he will be missed very much."

Judge Robert Morgan, who went from Davis, Morgan and Witherell—the law firm with which Sen. Dirksen has been connected in Peoria—to the federal bench with Dirksen support, recalled knowing the senator since Dirksen made his first bid for Congress in 1932.

"He was a mighty good friend of mine," said the judge, "and a good U.S. Senator. His death is a loss to the nation."

Judge Morgan said he is canceling all federal court proceedings Thursday afternoon for Senator DIRKSEN's funeral.

* * *

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 9, 1969]

## EVERETT DIRKSEN: MAN OF GOOD WILL

(By Charles L. Dancey)

EVERETT M. DIRKSEN was neither superman nor villain, and certainly not the caricature to which modern "image" reporting seems to reduce political figures. He was a man.

That "wrecked face" was once the handsome visage of the tall, curly-haired lead in the class play. Its lines eventually recorded the soul-wrenching personal experiences of the first war in France, the threat of blindness, a heart ailment, of a thousand political battles, and a hundred national crises.

The oratory, about which so much is being said, was a tool but the real passion and real genius of the senator was in his capacity for hard work, his total tenacity, and his superb craftsmanship as a legislator.

He did not burst on the scene overnight with the civil rights bill of 1964.

He was the youngest councilman elected in his hometown of Pekin, and "Jack, The Giant Killer" when he won a seat in Congress against a veteran, powerful "unbeatable" opponent.

He learned the business of national legislation then, "laboring hard in the vineyard" as he would say, and developing the "unseen power" that went with becoming the most skilled parliamentarian and superb legislative craftsman of his time.

He learned other things too.

In 1941, a veteran of the shambles that was World War I, Congressman EVERETT DIRKSEN was totally opposed to the U.S. getting involved in another European war. He was a leader in a fight to abolish the draft, and cut out from under Franklin Roosevelt any sizable army with which to "interfere." He wanted no war for America passionately, and he ridiculed the possibility of a Japanese attack.

### LEARNED FROM PEARL HARBOR

Indeed, the Congress came within one vote of abolishing the draft just weeks before Pearl Harbor was suddenly smashed with heavy loss of life.

Pearl Harbor's news came as a shattering shock to all who heard it then—but to no one more violently than to DIRKSEN.

He knew and hated war, but never again did he let that knowledge and passion lead to wishful philosophy that could risk disaster to the basic security of the country.

Out of such experiences of policy, of politics, and of personal crisis, we came to know a man with three major characteristics.

One of these was a deep and dedicated concern for this country and its people based on a "longer view" than he took in his youth.

Another of these was his unflagging tenacity as a craftsman that confused many superficial observers. People have logged the "causes" he is supposed to have both "voted for and against" many times. They ignore the fact that DIRKSEN's passion was for the details, wherein he had discovered the real effective action of law is determined. He did not vote for labels or slogans. He was interested in the functional effect of every single paragraph in a proposal—and a "good law" or a "bad law" was not decided by the label given it or the political claims of its authors. Not to him. He got down to the "nitty gritty."

His third characteristic is that which I happened to have written about and published the day of his death.

He was a man of good will. He was never vindictive even with those who gave him vicious provocation. It wasn't worth it. He was tolerant, good humored, understanding of others—and his tolerance was fortified by real toughness. He could take it. He didn't bother to dish it out.

### TOOK THE LONG VIEW

When he fought it was to accomplish something, and even then he had learned to take the longer view and be sure that when this battle was over, he was in good position for the next one. He always figured there would be another one.

In that sense, certainly, he understood the future far better than those who throw themselves off the cliff in the absolute finality of their passion for today's issue.

It was not oratory that made EVERETT DIRKSEN the friend and most powerful ally of President Dwight D. Eisenhower after the senator had done everything in his power to get Robert Taft as president instead of Ike. (Taft was a craftsman, too, and DIRKSEN feared that Eisenhower simply didn't know the earthy skills of Washington.)

It wasn't oratory that made him loved and trusted and respected, all three, by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

Sen. DIRKSEN in these later years was the product of a long, busy, and full life, rich in experiences both "good" and "bad," soul-ripping and sublime, wins and losses, being "right" and also discovering when he'd made a mistake.

These make for a whole man.

And Ev DIRKSEN followed a mighty good rule: He took his work in deadly seriousness—but not himself.

That's what confused a lot of people.

It's a rare quality these days . . . especially in Washington.

We could certainly stand to have a few more like him in politics, in the newspaper business, on the TV—and you name it.

But it doesn't seem likely to happen.

If the essence of such a person can be lost in the age of the superficial image, the chances of any even learning from the example seem slim.

It looks as if, "they broke the mold," after Ev.

It's our loss as a country and as a people, and if we don't find that combination of toughness, tenacity, and good will—strong enough to have a sense of humor about ourselves—the loss may prove to be very serious indeed.

They are what gives a man, a society, or a nation its ability to endure.

* * *

[From Life Magazine, Sept. 19, 1969]

## "A Pretty Good Place To Be From, and Go Back To"

(By Richard B. Stolley)

Representative Everett Dirksen came home to his 18th Congressional District one summer day in 1944 to meet with a group of irate duck shooters in the dining room of the lesser of Pekin's two hotels, the Illinois. What they wanted—and right then—was federal relief of some sort for a nearby lake.

As a very young reporter for the Pekin *Daily Times,* it was my first intimate look at Dirksen the politician, and I was overwhelmed. His performance—for there was a combination of tone and timing in all his moves that was distinctly theatrical—was superb. Before the fried catfish lunch all I could foresee was an angry, insoluble confrontation. But Dirksen first-named those men, soothed their anger, passed the rolls and butter, and left them smiling without having made a single promise he knew he could not keep.

The techniques he used on the Tazewell County duck hunters, Everett Dirksen years later used on Presidents of the United States.

When I arrived in Washington, he was reaching the peak of his power and fame. He greeted me with "Well, look who came out of the woodwork," and from time to time afterward invited me to share a quiet moment with him. It was tacitly understood that we were not reporter and senator then, but rather that we also were neighbors from Pekin having a backfence chat. (Our family homes were a couple of blocks apart, his being on Buena Vista—or "Beeyoona Vista," as we pronounced it. A small plaque was installed in the front yard a few years ago, marking it as the senator's home.)

We met usually in the back room of his Senate chambers: dim and cool, with big chairs and a refrigerator. Dirksen would take a drink or Sanka (sometimes preceded by a tablespoon of Maalox, for his perpetually upset stomach) and puff on his filters. There was often a parade of visitors, usually other senators, mostly Republican but enough important Democrats to reflect the political friendships Dirksen had so carefully and lovingly built up.

He would graciously introduce me, often as the onetime boyfriend of his daughter Joy (now the wife of Tennessee Senator Howard Baker, Jr.), and because he was never under any circumstances able to use small words when big ones were available, he would explain: "Yes, this boy spent a good deal of time in the old parental establishment." (In his high school yearbook, under

"Senior Diseases" Dirksen was listed as having "Big Worditus." Diagnosis: Absolutely Hopeless.")

He reminisced frequently, once recalling the advice he had given a young man who wanted to run for Congress in Illinois: "Get 100,000 cards, with a decent likeness and your name in big print so the old folks can read it without their glasses. Then start out on shoe leather and push those cards—to farmers, potluck suppers, PTA meetings. Give 'em a card and a handshake, make a little conversation, then move on. Don't get into any arguments. Come Election Day, people will see your name on the ballot, and say, 'Why, that fellow looked pretty good to me.' " He could not resist adding that the "fellow" was indeed elected, and became one of the ranking House Republicans, Representative Leslie Arends.

Sometimes Dirksen would talk about the man under whose spirit we all grow up in that part of the land—Abraham Lincoln. Judge Lincoln had once sat in our courthouse. Dirksen collected portraits of him, books about him, even needlepoint depicting scenes in his life.

I once mentioned to Dirksen an argument of his critics: that his on-again-off-again support of civil rights legislation did little justice to the memory of the Illinois President. He was unruffled. Nobody, he suggested, would ever have had to explain to Lincoln the conservatism of his own home state—a conservatism that he admitted and he shared more often than not—and, even more important in a democracy like ours, faithfully represented.

Occasionally our sessions were interrupted by telephone calls from the White House—nine of them once in a single day. Lyndon Johnson was calling to ask for votes, or advice, or sometimes just to gab with a man who understood his kind of politics. Always, of course, I was gently shooed from the room, but never before being reminded again of the immense power wielded by my aging, ailing friend.

Dirksen's nomination of Barry Goldwater for the Presidency at the 1964 convention was a great moment for him. And yet afterward, I found him in his hotel suite gazing wearily down upon the glorious bay, drained emotionally, curiously untriumphant. He told of reading his speech in advance to Goldwater, and looking up at one point to find "this peddler's son" in grateful tears. His mood, even then, indicated that he sensed the futility of the Goldwater candidacy, but he had done what he could for a friend.

In his later years, Dirksen said that he had found the freedom that every politician dreams of. His political debts were paid—"even to the Chicago *Tribune*." He was no one's man but his own, free to cultivate his roses, to make political mistakes, be inconsistent. In spite of his health, he felt comfortable, at peace with himself.

Dirksen always tried to be in Pekin for his mother-in-law's birthday. This year it was her 94th, but he was already in the hospital. In 1948, when he had to resign from the House because of eye trouble, the Washington *Post* wanted to hire him to write a column. He said no thanks, he would return to "that little old town."

We talked about that once, about the squeezing of so much of America into the cold and colossal urban centers, and this man who had traveled the world said of Pekin: "It is a pretty good place to be from, and to go back to."

He was buried in the flat prairie out east of town, in a new cemetery which runs alongside Milo Miller's dairy farm. The Vice President of the United States led the mourners. But Editor McNaughton and Logan Unland, the insurance man, and "Peach" Preston, the former postmaster—all old friends—were there too as EVERETT DIRKSEN went back to that "pretty good place," for the last time.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday morning, September 10, in the rotunda of the Capitol, I was privileged to participate in a special and impressive memorial service for the late Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN. The participants were distinguished representatives of approximately 17 veterans organizations who had gathered to pay their last tribute to this great American who had been a loyal and faithful friend of veterans and their dependents.

I suppose Senator DIRKSEN belonged to several of these great organizations, but I am proud to record that he was a distinguished member and past district commander of the American Legion.

I should like to commend to my colleagues the eulogy which was delivered on that occasion by another distinguished Legionnaire, and past national commander, the Honorable Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE DONALD E. JOHNSON, ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS, AT COMBINED VETERANS ORGANIZATION MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR SENATOR EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will be remembered gratefully and always by America's veterans as a patriot who greatly loved our country . . . and as a man who lived the creed bequeathed him and all of us by another great citizen of his beloved Illinois . . . Abraham Lincoln . . . "to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan."

As a combat, overseas veteran of World War I, he knew personally the holocaust and the cost of war. His concern for veterans, his compassion for the disabled and the widowed and the orphaned was expressed most eloquently—not alone in the remembered oratory of this gifted speaker, but also in the rewarding benefits which he helped to write into law.

A quarter of a century ago . . . 11 years after he first entered the House of Representatives . . . he helped enact the G.I. Bill . . . one of the most enlightened laws ever passed by any government in history.

But his accomplishments on behalf of our nation's veterans, their dependents and survivors were not limited to this program. Far from it. His greatest service to veterans was in the leadership which he gave to the Senate as it considered the many veteran benefit programs to come before it during the more than five terms in which he served as Minority Leader of the Senate.

Beyond this, of course, was his dedicated, able service on the Senate Finance Committee, which monitors legislation benefitting the millions of veterans, widows and children receiving Veterans Administration compensation and pension and G.I. Insurance assistance.

The veterans organizations to which he proudly belonged know well how much this great American contributed to their growth and progress since World War I. The others, whose meetings and conventions he often addressed, will remember the inspiration and renewed strength he brought to them.

With grieving hearts, America's veterans say farewell to a loved and admired comrade.

We are sure he would understand that the only lasting and worthwhile tribute we can pay him is to carry on his great work and to share his true compassion for those who have borne the battle and for their widows and their orphans.

This we will do . . . Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Rest in peace.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. MARIO BIAGGI*

### OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there will never be another like him. There have been great leaders before, astute politicians, men of flamboyant style, patriots of the highest order. But it is difficult to imagine that this Nation will be graced again with a man whose character and rhetorical skill even closely resemble that of the late Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN.

It was with great sadness that I learned of the death of the distinguished Senate minority leader. A man whose advice was sought by four Presidents of the United States, Senator Dirksen served his State and Nation with full devotion. His ability and his humanity, his wisdom and his patriotism, were well known and universally respected.

I know the members of his party will miss his leadership as will we, of the opposite party, miss his unique style of debate and urbane opposition. To those who disagreed with his views, Senator Dirksen was a feared adversary, who yet remained a friend. An astute legislative leader devoted to his party's programs, he had the capacity to put aside partisan considerations when required by the needs of the Nation. He earned the affection of much of the American public.

We shall miss his wisdom and ability as well as his oratorical skill and his penetrating wit. Everett Dirksen was a legend in his own time, and he will long be remembered as a truly great American.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. FRED SCHWENGEL*

### OF IOWA

Mr. Speaker, we all mourn the loss of our distinguished minority leader in the Senate. Many tributes have been paid to the Senator, but an editorial appearing in the September 9 issue of the Davenport Times-Democrat does an excellent job of summarizing these tributes, as follows:

Everett McKinley Dirksen

Across the United States, Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen is being mourned as an outstanding legislator and political leader. It generally is reserved for the people of Illinois—and some of Iowa—to know that he served the state and the nation in a great Illinois tradition.

He shares particulation distinction with:

James Hamilton Lewis, a Chicago Democrat, who served with President Woodrow Wilson from 1913 to 1919 as conscientiously as he did with President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1931 to 1939; Scott W. Lucas, also a Democrat, from Havana, 1939–1951, a Senate leader of the Roosevelt and Harry S Truman years;

And C. Wayland Brooks, Chicago Republican, of a comparable vintage, 1940–1949.

Like Senator Dirksen, they were members of a race of orators. They were not just small town or big city politicians. They were dramatic in their projection of the legislative process. When they spoke the Senate—and others—listened.

Of far greater consequence in Senator Dirksen's performance, he had a highly developed sense of political accommodation. While it irked some Republicans, the Dirksen technique gave the party a strong role as the loyal opposition. It won respect and applause not only for him but for the GOP.

He was not only a party leader, but a patriotic American, who saw that his high office was fulfilled responsibly. As has been set forth in news accounts of his passing from the national scene, his influence and accomplishments helped translate purposes and ideals into sound, significant and far-reaching legislation.

Some of his colleagues put it well. Said Sen. Mike Mansfield, majority leader of the Senate: "He was an old pro. His word was good. Everything was on the table." Observed Sen. Jack Miller of Iowa: "There has never been a minority leader his equal, and few majority leaders . . . could match his effectiveness."

In his consummate political skill and in the flaunting of a colorful personality, he captured the attention and interest—even affection—of people who never had met or even seem him personally.

The Dirksen success is the more impressive in the fact that he had such a humble beginning as the son of German immigrants with a background of the picturesque Frisian Islands off the coasts of Germany and the Netherlands. His father having died when he was five, he learned early how to work; his application to unpromising jobs continued through college as he worked his way.

This is the stuff of which American legends are composed and Everett McKinley Dirksen lived up to the tradition.

As has been set forth by hundreds of writers and commentators, his sonorouse voice is stilled. Only the echoes of his grandiloquent delivery linger and fade. His influence will live, though, to the nation's benefit and Illinois pride.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST*

### OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a resolution requesting the House to call upon the Postmaster General to issue a commemorative stamp to be sold on January 4, 1970, on the occasion of the 74th birthday of the late Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. Senator Dirksen was no ordinary man. He cut a swath across public life that left its mark upon six administrations. To several of the Presidents, he was an indispensable ally, and he won the deep affection not only of his congressional colleagues, but of the American people. Senator DIRKSEN communicated a love of his country and devotion to service that has been matched by few men. On the occasion of his death, he was honored as only three other Senators have been honored by lying in state in the Capitol rotunda. It seems to me that issuing a stamp will enable us to accord him the kind of posthumous recognition which we reserve for those special Americans who have so unselfishly served the Republic.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL*

### OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, September 10, 1969, Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, along with representatives of 17 veterans organizations, eulogized the late Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN at the rotunda of the Capitol.

Mr. Johnson's heartfelt remarks—spoken in behalf of all of the Nation's 27 million veterans—were as follows:

> EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN will be remembered gratefully and always by America's veterans as a patriot who greatly loved our country, and as a man who lived the creed bequeathed him and all of us by another great citizen of his beloved Illinois—Abraham Lincoln—"to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan."
>
> As a combat, overseas veteran of World War I, he knew personally the holocaust and the cost of war. His concern for veterans, his compassion for the disabled, and the widowed, and the orphaned was expressed most eloquently—not alone in the remembered oratory of this gifted speaker, but also in the rewarding benefits which he helped to write into law.
>
> A quarter of a century ago—11 years after he first entered the House of Representatives—he helped enact the GI bill—one of the most enlightened laws ever passed by any government in history.
>
> But his accomplishments on behalf of our Nation's veterans, their dependents, and survivors were not limited to this program. Far from it, his greatest service to veterans was in the leadership which he gave to the Senate as it considered the many veteran benefit programs to come before it during the more than five terms in which he served as minority leader of the Senate.
>
> Beyond this, of course, was his dedicated, able service on the Senate Finance Committee, which monitors legislation benefiting the millions of veterans,

widows, and children receiving Veterans' Administration compensation and pension and GI insurance assistance.

The veterans organizations to which he proudly belonged know well how much this great American contributed to their growth and progress since World War I. The others, whose meetings and conventions he often addressed, will remember the inspiration and renewed strength he brought to them.

With grieving hearts, America's veterans say farewell to a loved and admired comrade.

We are sure he would understand that the only lasting and worthwhile tribute we can pay him is to carry on his great work and to share his true compassion for those who have borne the battle and for their widows and their orphans.

This we will do—Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Rest in peace.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, how many of us since the news of Senator DIRKSEN's death saddened an otherwise pleasant Sunday afternoon, said to ourselves: "Capitol Hill will not seem the same without him?"

Among the hundreds of news reporters and photographers covering Congress, few national legislators have commanded as much admiration as the late Senate minority leader.

The void his passing leaves was poignantly expressed in the following column by Ed Alley in the September 18, 1969, issue of the Arlington, Va., News. Ed Alley, for many years, was himself a familiar figure on Capitol Hill as a news photographer for United Press International. His recollection of the qualities which distinguished Senator DIRKSEN make worthwhile reading:

### COLUMN BY ED ALLEY

Capitol Hill won't seem the same without EVERETT DIRKSEN. The death of the Senate minority leader, who was one of our greatest—if not the greatest—of all Americans leaves a void that just cannot be replaced. DIRKSEN had many qualities—all of them good. He was a warm, compassionate man, never too busy to take one aside for a cheery note. I would like to borrow the words of Majority Leader Mike Mansfield in expressing my views on the passing of Senator DIRKSEN. Said Senator Mansfield, "his loss was a great tragedy and deep personal loss. He was a good leader, a real pro in the best sense of the word."

I took Senator DIRKSEN's death hard. Carolyn and I were watching the ball game when word came of his passing. I admit I cried openly and I am not one easily for tears. I had a feeling for the late Senator that I cannot find words for. He was something special to me. Our loss will be God's gain. We're sure He has a special niche for the departed Senator.

I worked closely with Senator DIRKSEN for years. I admired him greatly. He also amused me. I enjoyed being in his presence. In addition to his great ability, his humor just cannot be put into words. He could take the simplest thing and make it sound funny. That, friends, is an art. Few have it. He always made light of illness—as long as it was his own. He hated to have anyone he knew ill.

When I was forced into retirement, DIRKSEN wrote me a fond, kind letter. He told me that anyone could have "knocked him over with a feather" that I had been sent home for good. He followed it with an autographed picture, both of which I treasure. I also have his record album, autographed, that I told you about a few weeks ago. I have many fond memories of him—memories that I, too, will take with me when it is my turn.

Humble me agrees with Senator George D. Aiken, the kind gentleman statesman from Vermont, who said, "I am very sorry indeed he has been called on." We all face that same turn in time but in the passing of DIRKSEN went familiar trademarks so well known to us who covered him. Gone now are the rumbling delivery, the flowery phrases, the carefully mussed forelock, the jutting jaw, the drooping folds of flesh that gave him the mien of a bloodhound.

As Steve Gerstel, an old-UPI co-worker friend of mine, wrote, "just as the DIRKSEN voice ran the full scale from gentle tones of cajolery to stentorian booms, so could the DIRKSEN temperament change in a wink, that of a gentle man walking among flowers and finding them good to that of a hardbitten politician in a shouting match with a reporter or a political foe."

We saw in DIRKSEN an immensely successful man, unmatchable as an orator, and a man adaptable to the changing times. There were those, true, who saw him as a ham actor affecting basso-profundo pronouncements, flip-floppy on the issues—or a wheeler-dealer, to borrow a few more words of Steve Gerstel's.

I guess you might call Ev DIRKSEN a wheeler-dealer, after a sort. He got things done. He stepped on a few toes along the way but he made few enemies. He was good for the Nation and he enjoyed being a good American. It was a way of life to him. He loved his country.

There will be a long time before the memory of Ev DIRKSEN dies with him. We'll all miss him. We know, however, that he has found solace where he's gone. We can only hope he's among the marigolds he loved so well. We're sure he is.

But let's pass along. Life is like that. I just had to tell you how I felt about a friend. I hope you'll understand.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, since his passing on September 7, we have read and heard many words in praise of Senator DIRKSEN.

All through last week, from the time his body was borne into the Capitol rotunda to lie in state, one of the few Senators in the Nation's history that have been so honored, until it was lowered into the prairie soil of his home State of Illinois, which he loved so much and served so well, the eulogies poured in from every corner of the United States and from throughout the world, from famous leaders and from humble folk as well.

Senator DIRKSEN's place in history is secure. He will be remembered along with Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun, with Bob Taft and Bob LaFollette, and with Henry Clay, to name those whose portraits adorn the Senate reception room, as among the great Senators of all time.

Of all the tributes I have read none expresses so well the qualities of DIRKSEN's greatness, none explores in such depth the full scope of his career, and none so reflects the pride and esteem which we in Illinois felt in the achievements of our senior senator, as does the following editorial by our former colleague, Ed Jenison, editor of the Paris Beacon-News.

Ed himself has had a distinguished political career, having served three terms in Congress from 1947 until 1953, as a blue-ribbon member of the Illinois General Assembly, and as a director of the department of finance of the State of Illinois. His friendship with EVERETT DIRKSEN began during the years when they represented neighboring congressional districts in the House of Representatives. Ed Jenison drew from a wealth of personal knowledge and experiences in writing his editorial and I know that it will bring back memories to those Members who, in the years following World War II, served with both Ed Jenison and Ev DIRKSEN in the House of Representatives.

### A GALLANT MAN

Under a benevolent sky, they laid EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN to rest Thursday in the spot he chose, among his fellow citizens in his beloved hometown of Pekin, Illinois. It was both appropriate and typical of the great

American, son of immigrant parents whose life proved once more that opportunity for all is the hallmark of freedom in a republic.

Everett McKinley Dirksen came back home to the people who knew him best and loved him most. Thousands of them lined the streets and thronged the community cemetery to show in their attitude the respect and the affection in which he was held. Not even the presence of a hundred important figures from Washington could take the spotlight away from the tribute of those to whom a national figure was "Ev," our congressman, then our senator, but always "our neighbor and our friend."

In its way, it was a revelation of the magnitude of the man. For he was an "uncommon" man who never forgot the "common man." Everett Dirksen probably knew more people by their first names than any man who ever traveled across the prairies and through the teeming cities of Illinois. Their problems became his problems. He shouldered them willingly, and he battled to do something about them.

The path from Pekin to greatness was an unlikely one, but it added yet another inspiring chapter to the history of our times, for it proved again that leaders do rise from humble origin to national service.

Ev Dirksen became fatherless at the tender age of five but he was blessed with a sturdy mother who encouraged him to maturity. He was a bread winner at an early age but it did not keep him from pursuing the path of education. In relative youth he was a manual laborer who became a skilled worker in drainage construction. In later years he was to confound experts with his intimate knowledge of flood control, land preservation and soil conservation.

When World War I drew the United States into global conflict, the then young Dirksen was an early volunteer who served with such gallantry that he won a battle field commission while serving his country in France. The courage and the leadership qualities revealed under those harrowing circumstances were a prelude to even greater service in the future.

The courage came in running for congress for the first time in 1930, when a depression abroad in the land made the cause of a Republican candidate hopeless. It was the only campaign he ever lost. Two years later, when Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt was sweeping the land for president, Dirksen won election to Congress. And he was re-elected for a total of eight terms, spanning sixteen years. There he rose steadily and certainly to a position of eminence and influence, and his persuasive oratory established him firmly as a national leader.

If the editor may be pardoned a personal comment, it could be said that "I knew him then." It was my great privilege to be elected to congress from a neighboring district after World War II. I was both young and green. Even at that time Ev Dirksen was a senior member of congress. But he had the time to be of help to every "newcomer," myself included. By rare good fortune my office was but a few steps away. His door was never closed. He was always ready to counsel and encourage and stimulate those about him. I can see him now, at work at his desk late at night. Books and papers covered his desk. But when you interrupted him with a plea for guidance at any hour, he would push his glasses up on his forehead, swivel around in his chair, and ask only "What can I do for you?"

In the years that followed it was my privilege to travel many a mile with him, particularly in his first race for the United States Senate in 1950. And memories of that campaign are not complete without special tribute to his "bride" of more than 40 years, Louella Dirksen, who rode at his side, served as his driver and his secretary, and made friends wherever she went. The memory has to go on to cherish years as a neighbor of the Dirksens and their daughter, Joy, now the wife of Howard Baker, the Senator from Tennessee. And those years bring the recollection of but another facet of the DIRKSEN character. A son of the soil forced to live temporarily in a teeming apartment complex, he found nearby "just a bit of ground" where he could satisfy a longing to exercise a "green thumb" in planting and cultivating a few flowers. He became something of an expert in this, as he did in all things, and ultimately, as a result of his horticultural interests, he embarked on the only half-facetious project to make the marigold the national flower.

It was in his nearly twenty years in the Senate that EVERETT DIRKSEN rose to national and international recognition. The same qualities that built his success in the House propelled him steadily toward ultimate recognition as the most influential senator with "powers greater than Presidents" as President Nixon himself observed in tribute to the giant from Illinois.

Yes, he had a great voice, and he used it. But it was more than that. He had the capacity to analyze and the understanding to sympathize. He could differ but without offense. He could reason without rancor. And he had tolerant patience for everyone but himself.

He was the friend of Presidents, of his own party and the opposition, but he was first and last the friend of the people and the land he loved with an unqualified devotion. He never ran away from a battle, and he won most of them, but if he lost he was undismayed and unswayed. Classic examples of his losses were his efforts to overturn the Supreme Court decision on "one-man-one vote" and retain the concept of one branch of the legislature chosen by population with the other chosen on the basis of area, and the equally celebrated battle to overturn the court ban on prayer in the public schools. Almost alone he waged these battles, and alone he almost won them. His fundamental sense of right would not permit him to give up on either issue. And millions of Americans agreed with him.

Ev DIRKSEN was not without his critics, and it is the measure of the man that they never disturbed him or overcame him. They labeled him "The Wizard of Ooze," and instead of a term of derision it became a label of affection. He proved it every time he took the podium, and that was pretty often for no speaker was in greater demand across the length and breadth of the nation.

One classic example comes to mind. They honored him in Chicago one late April evening in 1966 at one of those big, glossy, often deadly-dull $100 a plate dinners.

Without a note or scrap of paper before him, he "preached" for one solid hour and twenty-two minutes more, surely long enough to bore stiff most anyone expect perhaps his forgiving family.

Yet from the moment Everett Dirksen set free from deep in his innards that first velvety syllable, those seated, affluent diners—1,800 in all—leaned toward him and strained to hear every word as if life itself depended on his next one.

Before Dirksen rose, the bony young minister from the little frame church in Pekin spoke reverently of the Senator as "one who stands among us, but towers above us."

That set the stage. Then Everett Dirksen shuffled to the lectern, blinking in seeming surprise at the glare of TV lights he contended with almost daily.

The celebrated silvery locks were tangled and awry. A huge carnation made a white splotch on his black suit. The massive head, the sagging face were thrust forward, and tired, watery eyes peered over horn-rimmed spectacles into the sea of admirers. He looked for all the world like the fabled cowardly lion from cinema's Land of Oz.

There was in the great ballroom the perfect silence of expectancy, for most of them had savored the Dirksenian thunder before.

Then the words began to come, resonant, rolling, soft and almost inaudible at first. He told a gnarled old story about a grateful cow, one of his oft-repeated favorites. Half the crowd had heard him tell it before, yet they wandered almost gleefully alongside him to the punch-line, and then roared with laughter, feeling he had permitted them to share with him an intimate moment.

What he said was not new. Some would brand it corny or trite, the some old cliches about God and motherhood and freedom and all that. The empty sophisticates might dismiss him as out of touch with these frenetic times.

But you knew somehow this man was not shallow or calculating or emotionless. You could see an incandescent glow in those tired eyes when he talked of freedom.

There was an element of grandeur, a certain homely wisdom about this righteous, earthy plainsman. His may be a dying breed but it towers above the gray flannel prodigies who are guided by polls, surrounded by faceless aides, preoccupied with the cosmetics of image.

Perhaps Ev Dirksen is of a dying breed, but history refutes it. Over and over again the times have produced the man. Illinois gave to the nation Abraham Lincoln in a time of crisis. Ev Dirksen would have been the first to repudiate comparison with the martyred President, but he was the most articulate exponent of the Lincoln philosophy in succeeding times and succeeding crises. Dirksen, more than any other, clung tenaciously to the defense of freedom—for the nation and for the people. As the courageous champion of freedom his memory will be cherished wherever freedom prevails—and wherever oppressed peoples elsewhere hope freedom may yet be achieved in a troubled world.

Not long ago, Senator DIRKSEN gave his voice to the recording of patriotic readings entitled "Gallant Men." It was a sensational success. Millions thrilled to his masterful tribute to great men of history. The Senator was only the narrator. But there could be no more fitting designation for him. He was, indeed, the gallant man. His life of devotion and dedication was yet another demonstration of the validity of the American dream.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL*

### OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the messages of condolence continue to come in the mail in the wake of Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN's passing and today we received a letter from one of our dear friends and constituents who also was a very good friend of the Senator's. I should like to have printed in the Record at this point the full text of her letter, for the message embodied in it is such a touching one:

PEKIN, ILL., *September 11, 1969.*

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. MICHEL: He is home at last.

So often he began his talks to home audiences with the words "It's so good to be home again."

It must have been thousands that stood in tribute today for his final coming home. Memories of happier returns mingled in one's thoughts when he shared his life's learning and experiences with us. An intimate knowledge of world personages and affairs was his. He used it all for the good of mankind. There will never be an EVERETT DIRKSEN replica.

When Edwin Markham wrote his *Lincoln the Man of the People* for the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., he said:

"So came the Captain with the mighty heart; And when the judgment thunders split the house Wrenching the rafters from their ancient rest, He held the ridgepole up, and spikt again The rafters of the house. He held his place—Held the long purpose like a growing tree—Held on through blame and faltered not at praise. And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs, Goes down with a great shout upon the hills, And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

For so many EVERETT DIRKSEN's passing "leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

In closing there was another thought Everett often quoted. He had taken it from the Bible—Nehemiah 4.6, "So built we the wall; . . . for the people had a mind to work."

I wonder if this was not a part of his creed—for himself and for us all in America. There must be purpose to achieve accomplishment.

Respectfully yours,

Nina G. Hammer.

## ADDRESS BY HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

### OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the fleeting September days have painfully reminded us that the passing of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen silenced the voice and wisdom of one of America's great political leaders.

The loss I felt on learning of his death was not only for the Nation at the loss of a great statesman but also for myself at the loss of a friend and colleague. But to speak only of the death of Everett Dirksen would be an injustice to the life of a proud American—a life filled with great moments.

Everett Dirksen was a passionate human being. He loved his country and dedicated his life to its service. He had a deep moral sense for the right and the wrong. He was not one to waver in his convictions but yet he tempered them with justice. During his 3½ decades in the Congress of the United States, he was instrumental in affecting the passage of numerous pieces of vital legislation. His influence was felt and respected by both parties. In shaping legislation to meet America's changing needs, he truly understood the demands of leadership. However, Senator Dirksen was equally as persistent in his fight against those things which he did not feel were right for his country. The senior Senator from Illinois will be missed as an orator, remembered as a legislator, and revered as an American.

As he rests in peace, we the living are glad that Everett Dirksen shared his life with us. To Mrs. Dirksen and the family, Mrs. Lipscomb joins me in extending our deepest sympathy at their loss.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON*

### OF UTAH

Mr. Speaker, the September 22, 1969, issue of U.S. News & World Report contained an article entitled, "If a Man Die, Shall He Live Again?" Editor David Lawrence, in a note preceding the article, explains that it is a eulogy that the late Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN delivered 4 years ago during a memorial service for his departed friend, Robert Humphreys. As I read this beautiful tribute, I could almost hear the eloquent voice of its author; and inasmuch as it reflects the deep faith and great wisdom of EVERETT DIRKSEN, I would like to bring it to the attention of my colleagues who may have missed it:

### "IF A MAN DIE, SHALL HE LIVE AGAIN?"

(EVERETT DIRKSEN delivered on Oct. 20, 1965, at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, a eulogy during a memorial service for Robert Humphreys, a former newspaperman and in previous years a staff member of the Senate-House Republican Leadership Conference. Mr. DIRKSEN read from a manuscript he had personally written. I asked him for his copy, and it was printed on these pages in the issue of Nov. 8, 1965.

(Now that the Illinois Senator has passed away, the text may well be read once more.—David Lawrence, Editor.)

(By EVERETT DIRKSEN)

What mortal being, standing on the threshold of infinity, has not pondered what lies beyond the veil which separates the seen from the unseen?

What mortal being, responding to that mystical instinct that earthly dissolution is at hand, has not contemplated what lies beyond the grave?

What mortal being, upon whom has decended that strange and serene resignation that life's journey is about at an end, has not thought about that eternal destination and what might be there?

Centuries ago, the man Job, so long blessed with every material blessing, only to find himself sorely afflicted by all that can befall a human being, sat with his companions and uttered the timeless, ageless question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" In the Easter Season, when all Christendom observes the Resurrection and seeks answers to many questions, there in the forefront is the question raised by Job, "If a man die, shall he live again?"

If there be a design in this universe and in this world in which we live, there must be a Designer. Who can behold the inexplicable mysteries of the universe without believing that there is a design for all mankind and also a Designer?

Consider what is recorded in the Book of Genesis. First, the Designer created Heaven and Earth, void and formless. There was darkness on the deep. Only darkness and ocean and no light. Let there be light said the Grand Designer of the universe, and there was light. Let there be a firmament, said He, and there was a firmament. Let there be grass, said He, and herb, yielding seed. How could an earth continue without the seed of continuity? And there was.

Two lights He made, sun and moon. Came the stars by His design. He called for living creatures in the water and fowls to fly above the earth. And it was so, even as it is now. He called for earthbound life—cattle, beasts, and creeping things. The design was nearly complete, but not quite.

He created man with dominion over all other living things. And then this seemingly incredible thing—every green herb for meat. Yet it is every green thing which sustains all living things from the day of the first man until this very moment.

Man alone, of all living things received intelligence—a brain, a mind, and a soul. He alone, with these attributes, had the capacity for faith and hope, for inspiration and ambition, nobility and dignity, and the capacity to remember and to forget.

In a world of scientific wonders and achievements, no atom with all its force to destroy, to frighten, and annihilate could conceive an idea, build a structure, write a document, utter a spoken word, entertain compassion of charity or hope. Only to man came this endowment of intelligence, dignity, divinity, and dominion over all living things.

Who would persuasively contend that this work of the Great Designer could end in oblivion, in destruction without a trace? Who will contend that this—the noblest work of the Great Designer—man, with dominion over all living things, man, with a brain and a will, with a mind and a soul, man, with intelligence and divinity, should come to an end when the spirit forsakes its earthly temple?

Except for the handiwork of the Great Designer, nothing in this world is created and nothing is destroyed.

The Eiffel Tower is but the fashioning, forming, and shaping of materials already here.

The pyramids, which have stood for centuries, are but the craftsmanship of men on stone already here.

The atom—author of both joy and misery—was always here. It remained only for time and intelligence to isolate it and lay bare its awesome power.

The glory and beauty of the nation's Capitol is but the work of gifted men upon materials already here.

All this from the hand and grace of the Great Designer, whose handiwork is everywhere.

How could His work be destroyed? Not by fire, for that but transmutes what man put together into other forms such as light, heat, energy, and gases. Not by earthquakes, which but tumble man's work but do not destroy the elemental substance. Not by storms and tidal waves, which only rearrange what the Great Designer placed here.

The gaily colored leaves fall so gently to earth in this autumn season not to be destroyed but to be embraced by nature for future use. The falling leaves are a reminder that winter will soon be here to embrace the earth in wintry sleep. Comes the inevitable caress of spring, also from the hand of the Great Designer, to bring life and color, fragrance and beauty to the eager earth.

It is the Resurrection of spring. It is an answer to the ageless question of Job. "If a man die, shall he live again?" Surely he shall, as surely as day follows night, as surely as the stars follow their courses, as surely as the crest of every wave brings its trough.

Five hours before Bob Humphreys' spirit left its earthy, pain-wracked temple, I shook his hand. Somehow I knew that the Great Designer would spare him until I could return to the Capitol and say good-by. We spoke but little. It was not necessary. His last word to me was his request that I make this testament to him. There were no tears. I was borne up and comforted by the unquenchable faith and belief that, even as the hands of Heaven already reached out to embrace him, he would soon be in a higher, nobler realm where neither pain nor anguish could touch him.

I admired him. I respected him. I loved him. In him were those glorious attributes which I have seen so often—a fidelity that one can scarcely put in words—a devotion to his country unsurpassed by that of any patriot whose name glows from the pages of history—a sense of perfectionism that impelled him ever to find perfection—an affection for her who was his devoted companion and who was the force that sustained him in his hours of agony—a faith that could move mountains—an inextinguishable belief that man's course must be ever onward and upward. He will be long remembered because he is enshrined in so many hearts.

And now he has gone to labor in the larger vineyard of eternal life. All this is because the Great Designer made it a part of the grand design for life on Earth and in Heaven. Farewell, Bob.

## *ADDRESS BY HON. JACK H. McDONALD*

### OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, on September 9, I introduced House Joint Resolution 891 designating the American marigold as the national floral emblem of the United States. As we all know, the late Senator Everett Dirksen was an enthusiastic champion of this flower. To honor the deceased senior Senator from Illinois, Mr. David Burpee has named a new golden hybrid marigold "Senator DIRKSEN."

At this time I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the November 19 issue of the Chicago Tribune which provides a more detailed explanation of Mr. Burpee's efforts. The text of the story is as follows:

### IN MEMORY OF A GOLDEN SENATOR

(By Art Kozelka)

A new, golden hybrid marigold has been named Senator DIRKSEN in honor of the late senator from Illinois, who for a decade had championed the marigold as the most appropriate flower for America's national floral emblem.

Naming the new flower was disclosed by The Tribune by Sen. DIRKSEN's close friend, David Burpee, president of the W. Atlee Burpee Seed company, because, Burpee said, "We believe his many friends in his home state should be the first to know about it."

The flower will be introduced to the public for the first time at the Chicago World Flower and Garden Show in the International Amphitheater March 7 to 15, where it will be featured in Burpee's marigold garden. The garden will be dedicated in memory of Sen. DIRKSEN.

Burpee, who has devoted more than half a century to the development of marigolds, regards the Senator DIRKSEN as the best he has created.

It bears large, golden yellow blooms in profusion, on strong, stout stems. Flowers often are 5 inches across, equally spectacular in the garden or when cut for indoor arrangements. Like all marigolds, they are easy to grow from seeds and rarely are troubled by disease or insects.

Gardening was a hobby of the late senator, and marigolds were his favorite flower. Early last February, addressing Congress in behalf of a joint resolution to designate the marigold as the national floral emblem, he said:

". . . It is actually an American native [flower] and really not native to any other place on earth. It is grown in great profusion in every one of the 50 states and strangely enough is not the official flower of any state.

"I grow thousands of them every year for my own delight and the delight of my neighbors, and I know what this flower will do.

"I class it, therefore, with the American eagle when it comes to a symbol of our country that manifests stamina; and when it comes to beauty, I can think of nothing greater or more inspiring than a field of blooming marigolds tossing their heads in the sunshine and giving a glow to the entire landscape."

Burpee said he had been wanting to name a marigold in honor of Sen. DIRKSEN, but until now never thought he had one good enough.

"Now," he said, "people from all over the United States have been urging me to do it, and I am proud to have the privilege of naming this best of all marigolds in honor of the great senator from Illinois."

Sen. DIRKSEN's widow, Louella, and daughter, Joy, wife of Sen. Howard H. Baker [R. Tenn.], were delighted that Burpee wanted to name the new marigold after Sen. DIRKSEN.

The Burpee seed company's 1970 catalog, which goes to more than 2½ million home gardeners right after Christmas, will feature a full color picture of the Senator DIRKSEN marigold.

With all this interest in marigolds, it is not inconceivable that it someday may actually become the national floral emblem.

It was just a few days after the senator's death on Sept. 7 that Congressman Jack McDonald [R. Mich.], urged Congress in a joint resolution to grant Sen. DIRKSEN ". . . in death that wish which he failed to see fulfilled in life."

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